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CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S ON THE FRONTIER

"Christmas Day: Serenade this morning at 3 ocl^k by the musicians from Fort Snelling." Thus reads part of an entry for December 25, 1827, in a diary, now faded and yellow with age, kept at old Fort Snelling by Major Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian agent at the post for two decades after 1819. The early morning serenade was merely a prelude to the events of that Christmas Day of 1827. At daylight there were "3 Rounds by the French Inhabitants of the Post with the usual complements [*sic*] of the Season." And then the "Indians both men & women called at 11 ocl^k . . . in considerable numbers to see & shake hands & express the feelings of the day—which they appear to have taken up within the last Eight years from the Whites. The feelings of their hearts were expressed before I was aware," writes Taliaferro, "by a few *Yellow Kisses*—& *amusing Scene*." Year after year, as the agent continued in office at Fort Snelling, the Indians appeared at his door on Christmas morning. By 1836 he must have been heartily tired of the yuletide attentions of the Indian women, for on December 25 of that year he complained: "had of course to undergo various salutations on the *cheek* from many & old as well as young women—a custom derived from our Canadian population—not a very agreeable one."¹

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, manuscripts cited in this article are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Taliaferro might have observed that the Indians took over from the Catholic French-Canadians the idea and the method of celebrating both Christmas and New Year's. From the land to the north, the fur trade attracted to the Minnesota country hundreds of these people, most of whom served as voyageurs, or boatmen. Their daily work brought them into close contact with the natives. To the voyageur the midwinter holidays were gala occasions, days for merrymaking, for "drinking and fighting," for feasting and dancing. One trader described a Christmas ball where the "main point to which the dancers' efforts seemed to tend, was to get the largest amount of exercise out of every muscle in the frame." The dancing was done to the music of "one vile, unvarying tune, upon a worse old fiddle," with a "brilliant accompaniment upon a large tin pan." John McKay, a trader who had charge of a post for the Hudson's Bay Company on Rainy Lake, entertained a rival trader of the Northwest Company and his family at breakfast and dinner on Christmas Day in 1794. In the evening his guest invited him with his men to a dance, but, recorded McKay, "the Negroe who played on the fiddle got beastly drunk and spoiled our diversion." The daily diet of the voyageur was corn and suet, which was furnished by his employer; on Christmas, New Year's, and other holidays he was given sugar, flour with which to make cakes or puddings, a measure of rum, and other luxuries reserved for special occasions. McKay gave his men seven quarts of brandy on Christmas, 1793, and again on New Year's, 1794. The men who braved a Minnesota winter to explore the snow-covered plains and forests and frozen rivers of the North observed Christmas in much the same way as did the voyageurs. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, who set out in December, 1805, from his fort near Little Falls in an effort to find the source of the Mississippi, on the twenty-fifth "Gave out two pounds of extra meat, two pounds of

extra flour, one gill of whisky, and some tobacco" to each member of his expedition, "in order to distinguish Christmas."²

When missionaries began to work among the Minnesota Indians, particularly among the Chippewa of the North, they found that the natives made much of New Year's Day. They celebrated the holiday, which they called "Kissing day," after the manner of the French-Canadian traders and voyageurs. The puritanical religious leaders often were obliged, much against their wishes, to observe the day in the native manner. William T. Boutwell, who went to Leech Lake in 1833, found that the Indians there were in the habit of visiting the resident trader on January 1 to receive presents, "when all, male and female, old and young, must give and receive a kiss, a cake, or something else." They seemed to expect similar treatment from Boutwell, for on the first day of 1834 they caused the pious missionary considerable annoyance by appearing at his cabin at breakfast time. He relates the story as follows:

Open came our door, and in came 5 or 6 women and as many children. An old squaw, with clean face, for once, came up and saluted me with, "bon jour," giving her hand at the same time, which I received, returning her compliment, "bon jour." But this was not all. She had been too long among Canadians not to learn some of their New Year Customs. She approached — approached so near, to give and receive a kiss, that I was obliged to give her a slip, and dodge! This vexed the old lady and provoked her to say, that I thought her too dirty. But pleased, or displeased, I was determined to give no countenance to a custom which I hated more than dirt.³

At Red Lake twelve years later a band of missionaries planned a New Year's celebration which seemed to please

² Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur*, 83-85 (New York, 1931); Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River*, 1:130 (Coues edition — New York, 1895). Extracts from McKay's diary, in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, have been made by Miss Nute and are now on file with the Minnesota Historical Society. References to the diary are published by permission of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

³ Boutwell Diary, January 1, 1834.

the natives, who "honored" them "with a salute of two guns." The missionaries at this place recognized the Indian custom and took part in the celebration. According to Lucy M. Lewis, the wife of one of the missionaries, all the mission workers gathered at early dawn at the house of their leader, "the most convenient place to meet the Indians who assemble to give the greeting and receive a cake or two & a draught of sweetened water. It is the custom through the country to make calls & receive cakes." But instead of offering kisses, these Indians sang a "New Year's hymn learned in school for the occasion." The Red Lake missionaries marked New Year's Eve by assembling the pupils of the mission school and giving them presents. In 1845 the gifts consisted of flannel shirts for the boys and "short gowns" for the girls. The Indian children "came with cleaner faces & hands than usual," writes Mrs. Lewis, "as a little soap had previously been distributed." The custom of giving the Indians presents during the holiday season was continued by later missionaries, and it doubtless had an influence in creating good will. In 1881 Bishop Whipple, "with his usual kindness, sent an abundant supply of Christmas candy to all the Indian churches and stations" of the Episcopal church in northern Minnesota. A hundred pounds was sent to White Earth, and fifty pounds each to several other stations, including those at Red and Leech lakes. This, according to one writer, "was enough to sweeten the whole Ojibway nation and gave many an Indian boy and girl and man and woman the only taste of candy they have during the year. It made a great many people happy."⁴

While missionaries were introducing the white man's customs in northern Minnesota, settlement was progressing in the southern part of the territory, and a few well-defined

⁴ Lucy M. Lewis to Clarisse W. Burrell, January 1, 1846, Lewis Papers; Sela G. Wright to J. P. Bardwell, December 25, 1845, in *Oberlin Evangelist*, 3: 46, 47, 63; *Minnesota Missionary*, vol. 4, no. 6, p. 2 (March, 1881).

communities that were to become cities were established. They were peopled by newcomers, many of whom came from New England or other parts of the East, bringing with them the social customs of their old homes. By 1850 the gay and often crude Christmas celebration of the voyageur and the Indian had been replaced in Minnesota by a more conventional and refined holiday. The observance was, however, far from puritanical. People went to church on Christmas, but they also attended balls or other parties "gotten up with as much elegance and taste as can be displayed in any of the great cities," they arranged for amateur theatricals and community Christmas trees, and they enjoyed elaborate dinners. In St. Paul, according to a statement in a local newspaper, the Christmas season of 1850 was "rich in social entertainments and interesting religious exercises."

A "Grand Christmas Ball" at the Minnesota House in Stillwater was the "great centre of attraction" for "those who love worldly pleasure" during the holiday season of 1849. W. E. Hartshorn, the proprietor of the hotel, announced that he planned to "surpass anything of the kind yet got up in the Territory," which was then only eight months old. A week later St. Paulites saw the New Year in at a ball held at the Central House, where a local editor witnessed the "largest collection of beauty and of fashion we have ever seen in the West." A ball at Moffet's hotel in St. Paul ushered in the Christmas festivities of 1850. On the following night there was a ball of "unusual splendor" at Brewster's hotel in Stillwater, which was "attended by more than one hundred gentlemen and ladies, eight cotillions occupying the floor at once." A year later the holiday season was inaugurated a few days before Christmas in St. Paul by a "Ladies' Fair" held in Charles H. Oakes's "large, new elegant mansion house, well warmed and illuminated from the basement up to the observatory." An

idea of pioneer St. Paul society may be gained from a contemporary report of this affair. The gathering was one of "intelligence and real respectability," made up of "beautiful, well dressed women and girls" and "genteel and accomplished men." They displayed "an easy elegance of manners and a pleasant tone of refined conversation, that was truly delightful." A frontier editor left the fair "with a better opinion of the elements of society in St. Paul and higher hopes of the early predominance here, of a christian spirit of enlightened morality and high-toned civilization."⁵

One of the forms of entertainment provided for guests at this Christmas fair was a post office, "where pertinent, ludicrous and appropriate letters could be obtained." The celebration reached its climax, however, in a supper, at which tables were arranged for "one hundred persons, in a style of sumptuous elegance." Turkeys, chickens, frosted hams, "the more staple meats, including buffalo tongue," oyster soup, lobster soup, sardines, pastries, sauces, ice cream, jellies, and "piquants of every description" were among the dishes served. It is evident that delicacies were not lacking on the frontier Christmas table. Another St. Paul menu of 1851 included chicken, ham, turkey, lobster, oysters, sardines, buffalo tongues, pastries, jellies, pecans, and ice cream. In that year turkeys, brought in by sleigh from Iowa and Illinois, sold in St. Paul for \$1.50 and \$2.00 each. Many a pioneer family, however, sat down to a holiday table that was not graced by the king of birds. On Thanksgiving Day, 1850, which was celebrated in that year on December 26, a Minneapolis family had a dinner of stewed oysters, boiled vegetables, baked pork and beans, cranberries, mince and cranberry pies, cheese, and nuts. The cranberries gave to the meal a distinctly local flavor,

⁵ *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* (St. Paul), December 22, 1849; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), January 2, 1850; January 2, December 25, 1851.

for they grew wild in many parts of Minnesota. One Minneapolis pioneer recalls that he picked the cranberries for his Christmas dinner of 1848 "in what is now Columbia Heights," where the "bushes were loaded with them." Other frontier products found a place on many a menu. A Christmas dinner served in Fillmore County in 1854 included bear meat, prairie chicken, and venison. The bear meat was furnished by an Indian chief, who with his squaw and six warriors joined the white settlers of the vicinity for a yule celebration. After dinner the Indians entertained their hosts with races, a ball game, and dances. Among the dishes served at a Christmas gathering in 1852 at Winona, which was then known as Wabasha Prairie, were wild goose, venison, and coon. The menu included also five kinds of cake, three kinds of pie, and doughnuts fried in coon's grease. Visitors to the home of Governor Alexander Ramsey during the holiday season of 1850 dined "on a saddle of venison." Turkeys were served regularly on Christmas in the home of Ignatius Donnelly at Nininger in the seventies. On his holiday table there appeared also such delicacies as wine, homemade cider, and mince pie.⁶

Luxuries seem to have found their way even to the remote Minnesota frontier. At Crow Wing near Fort Ripley on the upper Mississippi in 1860 a Christmas dinner of oyster soup, roast turkey, plum pudding, coffee, and "fix-ins" was enjoyed by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Abbe and their guests. The oysters had been sent to Mrs. Abbe by a friend at St. Cloud. With her husband she had only recently removed from St. Paul to Crow Wing, where he was a trader and a townsite promoter. Their first Christmas at this remote post was far from lonely. A few days before the holiday they attended a party at the home of

⁶ *Pioneer*, December 25, 1851; *Minneapolis Journal*, December 26, 1920; "A Christmas Dinner," in Orrin F. Smith Papers, Miscellaneous, 1852-1932; Evadene A. Burris, "Frontier Food," *ante*, 14: 391; Ramsey Diary, December 28, 1850; Donnelly Diary, December 25, 1873, 1879.

Clement H. Beaulieu, a French and Indian mixed-blood who was a trader at Crow Wing. He "sent to St. Cloud (eighty miles) for music." In a letter written on December 30, 1860, Mrs. Abbe reports that her host served "an elegant supper," and though she did not consider the party "quite as elegant as some of our St P[aul] affairs of the kind [it] was n[o]t to be despised. The garrison were all present & all down from the Agency . . . and the *arrows-tocracy* of Crow Wing."⁷ After church services on Christmas morning the Reverend and Mrs. E. S. Peake, local missionaries of the Episcopal church, went home to dinner with the Abbes. In the evening they all attended a party at Fort Ripley, where there was a Christmas tree, and where Mrs. Abbe received a "very pretty embroidered cushion" and her husband "came into possession of a watch case with a mouse in it." Among the guests were the wives and daughters of the commandant and the post surgeon, and six or seven bachelors. "The young ladies are having a good time generally," comments Mrs. Abbe. She herself approved of only one or two of the young men; the others she found "like the rest of the brass buttons."

On Christmas morning "the grave and devout will be at church," wrote an editor of 1849. Church-going was a natural part of the frontier holiday observance; in fact, it was taken for granted and was seldom a subject of comment. A Swedish Lutheran pastor who arrived in Minnesota late in 1857 preached in St. Paul on the Sunday before Christmas, at Scandia two days before the holiday, and at both East and West Union on Christmas Day. He complained that he found it necessary to prepare his sermon in a saloon near Shakopee, "where several drunkards made a lot of disturbance until late at night." At Faribault the yule celebration began in the Episcopal Cathedral at six in the morning with a carol service, which by the late

⁷ Mrs. Abbe's letter is among the Fuller Family Papers.

seventies was looked upon as "one of the time-honored customs of the parish." The Cathedral was always decorated for the holiday; on one occasion it was banked with evergreen and the "chancel was literally ablaze with the light of gas burners and tapers." One parishioner records that the carols heard at this service "were old and familiar Christmas songs, many of which were learned by most of us as Sunday school children in the far off parishes of Eastern cities and villages." At Morris in 1882 an Episcopal congregation that had been organized only a year earlier had a Christmas festival that "drew forth a glad observance of its sacred memorials. The church and chancel were made both beautiful and fragrant by wreaths and festoons of evergreen; and the service enlivened by rich anthems of praise."⁸

In many frontier homes children received Christmas gifts, but some pioneers found it impossible to provide even such simple objects as homemade toys, popcorn balls, and candy. They told the disappointed youngsters that "it had been a bad year for Santa Claus' business" or that "Santa Claus has not learned the way up to Minnesota yet." A pioneer woman who passed her childhood near Le Sueur recalls that the Christmas of 1861 was an especially thrilling one, for she received a "pink calico apron, a stick of striped candy, an apple, and a doll about seven inches long, with china head, hands, and feet." She records that the doll was "the first and only one" she ever had. A decade later, a community Christmas celebrated in a schoolhouse near Silver Lake in Martin County was marked by a "graceful red cedar well lighted with candles and well loaded with presents, as was also a table nearby, and the floor." Bushels of popcorn balls were piled beneath the tree, which was

⁸ Alfred Bergin, "The Westgoths in Minnesota," in *Weekly Valley Herald* (Chaska), July 25, 1935; *Minnesota Missionary*, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 4 (January, 1878); vol. 5, no. 3, p. 5 (December, 1881); vol. 5, no. 4, p. 2 (January, 1882); vol. 8, no. 1, p. 1 (January, 1884).

loaded with stockings made of mosquito netting by the women of the neighborhood and filled with candy, nuts, and popcorn. Among the gifts were mittens, suspenders, leggings, neckties, slippers, dolls, drums, dolls' clothing, books, pictures, boots, and other articles of clothing. In order to provide decorations for a Christmas tree at old Fort Garry, near the present site of Winnipeg, "tin foil and gilt paper were stripped off packages in the shop and twisted into fantastic shapes, bright beads and berries were strung upon cords, slices of yellow soap were cut into hearts, stars, etc., carefully covered with coloured paper, candles cut down and fitted into holders made by the tinsmith."⁹

Gifts received by adults were worthy of note. Governor Ramsey records in his diary for December 25, 1850—the first Christmas that he spent in Minnesota—that he received "as a Christmas present a fine long sleeved pair of fur gloves and a pretty segar case." He notes also that a prominent St. Paul man presented Mrs. Ramsey with a "very handsome painting in a gilt frame, lady shading her face with a fan." A variety of gifts could be purchased in the local shops. In 1849 St. Paul merchants, confectioners, and bakers were prepared for the holiday trade. They advertised among other things stocks of cigars, tobacco, pipes, toys, "fancy dry goods," and Christmas cakes. "But if all our St. Paul merchants fail to supply you with what you want," a local paper suggested, "just step up to the Sutler's store, at Fort Snelling." A stock of goods received by one St. Paul shop just before Christmas, 1850, was brought up the river as far as Red Wing by steamboat and transported from there on the ice. As time went on the custom of giving presents to both young and old became an established one, and merchants continued to cater to the

⁹ Alice Mendenhall George, *The Story of My Childhood*, 35 (Whittier, California, 1923); Britania J. Livingston, "Letters from a Pioneer Woman," in *Fairmont Daily Sentinel*, June 6, 1925; Mitchell Young Jackson Diary, December 24, 1854; Anna M. Cowan, "Memories of Upper Fort Garry," in the *Beaver*, September, 1935.

holiday trade. A Swedish traveler who was in St. Paul a few days before a Christmas of the early seventies remarked upon the "newly arrived articles . . . intended as gifts for the coming holidays" to be found in the local stores. The "number and costliness" of the gifts exchanged by Americans amazed him. "The presents are sent with a message if the giver is someone outside the family," he explains, "or they are distributed by a dressed-up Christmas mummer, who here goes under the name of 'Santa Claus.'" An unusual gift received by a minister at Sauk Center from his congregation in 1882 was a "Christmas card, the design upon which consisted of a unique arrangement of seventy-five dollars and fifty cents in gold and silver coin."¹⁰

Amateur theatrical performances sometimes marked the holiday season. The people of Hastings assembled at Burges' Hall on Christmas Eve of 1857 to witness a "grand musical festival" entitled "The Flower Queen." The rose, the lily, the crocus, the violet, and the like were impersonated by members of a "juvenile singing class connected with the Dakota Institute." On what was, in all likelihood, a frigid winter night, these youthful Minnesota pioneers sang:

We are the flowers, the fair young flowers,
That come at the voice of Spring.

Only seven years after the railway village of Glyndon in Clay County was platted, on December 24, 1879, a playlet known as the "House of Santa Claus" was produced there for the local Sunday school children. Despite a temperature of thirty-five degrees below zero, the youngsters turned

¹⁰The traveler was Hugo Nisbeth, whose account of a visit to Minnesota, published at Stockholm in 1874, appears in a translation by Roy W. Swanson under the title "A Swedish Visitor of the Early Seventies," *ante*, 8: 386-421. Nisbeth's remarks about the American Christmas appear on page 413. See also *Chronicle and Register*, December 22, 1849; *Minnesota Democrat*, December 24, 1850; *Minnesota Missionary*, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 5 (January, 1882).

out to see this play, sing Christmas anthems, and receive gifts and sweetmeats. At a masquerade given at Dodge Center on Christmas night, 1882, one of the guests was dressed as Oscar Wilde, "knee breeches, big buckled shoes, low collar, sunflower and all," and two women appeared in costumes "composed entirely of newspapers, the fit and style being very elegant."¹¹

Sleigh rides often were planned for the Minnesota holiday season. A pioneer St. Anthony woman recalled that on Christmas Day, 1849, the young people of St. Anthony and St. Paul joined forces for a ride to a point nine miles above the falls. She relates that "The sleighing was fine, and being well protected with fur robes the drive was delightful." Rides from St. Paul upstream to Fort Snelling on the ice, or down the river to Red Rock or Point Douglas, or across country to Stillwater or St. Anthony, sometimes were arranged. "Away we go," writes one pioneer, "with bells jingling, horses blowing icicles from their nostrils—ladies alternately laughing and screaming . . . young men driving like Jehu." A sleighing party given in 1852 at Wabasha Prairie "had for its object the taking to ride in one sleigh of every lady then resident" in the settlement. "Stops were made at all the 'shanties' then on the prairie, and where occupants were found at home calls were made, while at the vacant ones the names of the callers were written in lead pencil upon the door."¹²

A sleigh ride was an enjoyable feature of a Christmas party given in 1866 in Minneapolis by Mr. and Mrs. John T. Blaisdell, and it was recalled many years later by one of the guests, Walter Stone Pardee, who in 1866 was a homesick boy recently arrived from New England. He relates:

¹¹ *The Flower Queen* was published as a pamphlet of eighteen pages at Hastings in 1857. The Minnesota Historical Society has a copy. See also *Red River Valley News* (Glyndon), December 26, 1879; *Dodge Center Index*, December 30, 1882.

¹² *Chronicle and Register*, December 22, 1849; "A Christmas Dinner," in Smith Papers.

Likely there were 20 children on hand. Long before dark Mr. Blaisdell got all who cared to go, into his big farm sleigh, that was bedded in straw, and he took us for a ride to the back of his farm, half a mile west, and this was at Lyndale Avenue of today. The air was crisp, clear and cold, and the boys and girls especially were wonderfully stimulated to enjoy the substantial food soon to be offered. The road was out of the common way. . . . Not a house was to be seen along the route . . . in the region where there are hundreds of costly homes. . . . But that 1866 afternoon our brisk team pulled us merrily along thru snow drifts on just plain farm upon much of which Mr. Blaisdell raised wheat. As to houses in sight even on Nicollet Avenue, there were only two or three such as would be on 160 acre farms. A little white school house some way out was the biggest building to be seen until far away at Lake Street were two or three farmhouses.

The farm in time became Blaisdell's Addition to the city of Minneapolis. After the invigorating ride, Blaisdell drove back to his "hospitable home," where the "New England supper came on." "The table was piled with the substantial and the fine," records Pardee. "As at Dave Harum's Christmas dinner, 'Sairy was for bringing in and taking out, but folks at table did their own passing.'" The feast was followed by a "jolly evening," with the "usual kissing games . . . sedate marchings about the big room and near-attempts at dancing." Pardee remarks that the Christmas affair pleased him, "for it was New England again."¹³

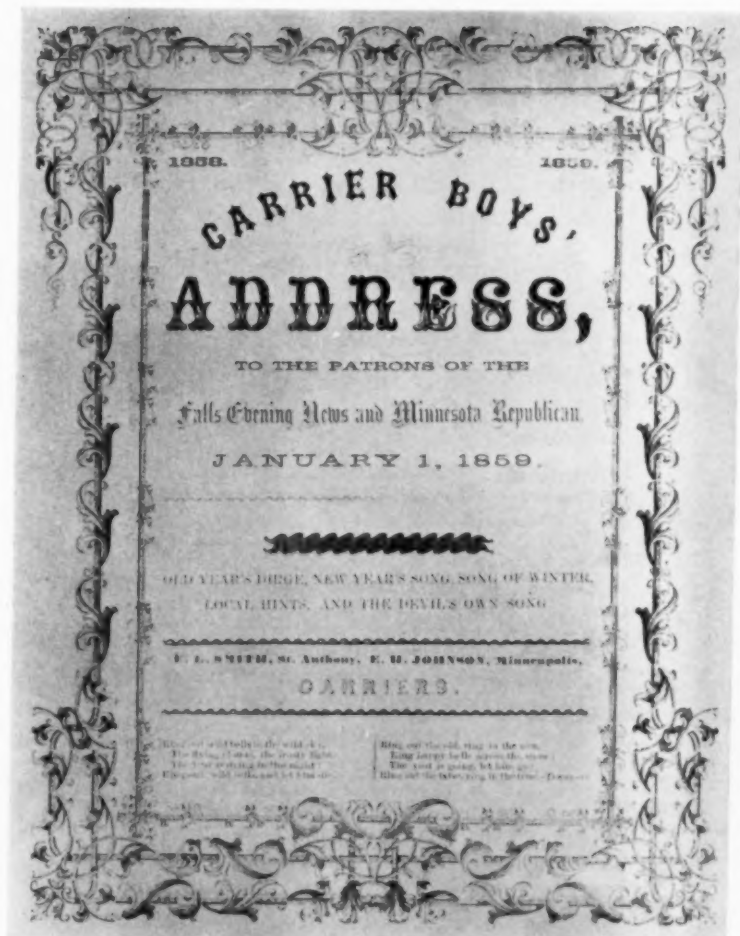
In frontier Minnesota calls were the order of the day on New Year's. "The custom of observing this day, after the old Dutch fashion, is becoming firmly established," reads a St. Paul newspaper of the early fifties. On the first day of the year "ladies remain at home and see company. Gentlemen make short calls, and take a slight refreshment everywhere." From ten in the morning to four in the afternoon were considered the proper hours for making calls. Propriety seems, however, to have been disregarded by some elements of the frontier population. Shortly after midnight of New Year's Eve in 1852, for example, Gover-

¹³See Walter Stone Pardee's "Autobiography" in the Pardee Papers.

nor Ramsey was surprised by a "visit, salute, and musick from some 30 Germans." Since he "was up reading the mail," he "called them in and treated them." This was only the beginning of a strenuous New Year's observance for Minnesota's first governor, for at daybreak the Indians began to call on him, and they kept coming "until noon, in which time some 300 called." In addition, the governor recorded in his diary, "very many citizens called upon Mrs. R." A year earlier, on January 1, 1851, he noted that the "practice of calling upon the lady of the house obtained very generally in town. Upwards of one hundred persons called on us." Among those who visited the Ramsey home on the first day of 1854, was Charles E. Flandrau, later a well-known Minnesota judge. This was his first New Year's in St. Paul, and he found to his delight that "everybody kept open house and expected everybody else to call and see them. . . . There was great strife among the entertainers as to who should have the most elaborate spread, and the most brilliant and attractive array of young ladies to greet the guests," according to Flandrau. "A register of the callers was always kept, and great was the victory of the hostess who recorded the greatest number." Flandrau added his name to many a register that winter day of 1854, for he reports that he was one of four "young frisky fellows" who "started out together with a good team and made one hundred and fifty calls by midnight." When he had made the rounds of the "principal houses" in the territorial capital, he went on to "Fort Snelling, with its Old School Army officers, famous for their courtesy and hospitality"; and while in the neighborhood he called also upon "Henry H. Sibley, at Mendota, to whom the finest amenities of life were a creed."¹⁴

New Year's was marked in many other ways. The be-

¹⁴*Pioneer*, December 25, 1851; Ramsey Diary, January 1, 1851, 1852; Charles E. Flandrau, "Reminiscences of Minnesota during the Territorial Period," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9:199.



THE COVER OF A NEWSBOYS' GREETING, 1859

New-Year's Address

OF THE CARRIERS OF

The Saint Paul Daily Press.

1868.

THE CARRIER BOY

Is coming—look out!

He's crammed full of gossip, from cap to boot;
Sweeping up to your door with a clatter and bound,
Not afoot and alone, as he dally comes round,
But mounted, this time, sir, and booted and spurred;
—

Yes, riding Pegasus, of whom you have heard.

He's a rickety, crotchety, Gothicized steed,
Looking the worse for hard work on small feed,
But strong enough, doubtless, to hobble along,
While his rider rehearses his

New-Year Song.

A song of blessings, and of beauties past,—
Of blessings poured upon our cherished land,
In bounteous harvests, and unclouded peace;

THE FIRST PAGE OF A NEWSBOYS' GREETING, 1868

ginning of the year 1850 was observed by the Minnesota Historical Society, organized in the previous year, with special exercises held in the Methodist church of St. Paul. The Reverend Edward D. Neill, an active member of the new society, delivered an address "which was not merely instructive, but thrillingly eloquent," on the "French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century," and a band from Fort Snelling provided music. "Write your history as you go along, and you will confer a favor upon the future inhabitants of Minnesota," advised Neill. A gay New Year's ball at Shakopee in 1856 was given for the benefit of a missionary, Samuel W. Pond, and his home mission work. "I had nothing to do with it but to share in the spoils with the Fidler," was Pond's somewhat apologetic comment on the affair. On New Year's Day, 1878, a steamboat left the landing at St. Paul for a river excursion to Fort Snelling, its decks crowded with passengers clad in linen dusters and carrying palm-leaf fans. It may be imagined, however, that underneath the dusters were heavy, warm coats. The excursion was planned by a St. Paul real-estate dealer, who took advantage of unseasonable weather to advertise the Minnesota climate and "to deceive the eastern public into the belief that orange trees and magnolias are in full bloom in a Minnesota January as a regular thing."¹⁵

The traditional American custom of issuing a carriers' greeting at New Year's, long established by newspapers of the Atlantic coast, was adopted in pioneer Minnesota at an early date. On January 7, 1853, the *St. Anthony Express* circulated an "Address of the Carrier of the St. Anthony Express to His Patrons." In doggerel verse, the newsboys of the little community that is now a part of the city of Minneapolis voiced their hopes for the future:

¹⁵ *Pioneer*, January 2, 1850; January 3, 1878; Samuel W. Pond to Ruth Riggs, January 26, 1856, Pond Papers. Neill's address appears in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1: 17-36 (1872).

When five thousand souls our streets shall throng;
And no one doubts but what they will ere long;
We hope to leave you still the weekly news,
To write your verses and collect our dues.

A Carriers' Address to the Patrons of the St. Paul Daily Press issued in 1866 expresses the gratitude "Of countless thousands that the war was done," and tells of

. . . that horrible and dark eclipse
When, by a dastard's hand, our martyred chief
Was foully murdered!

An Annual Address distributed by carriers of the *St. Paul Pioneer* in 1867 tells of a beautiful dream, in which a "guardian spirit" announced to the carrier:

The happy scenes thus pictured on New Year,
Reflect the homes which take THE PIONEER.

The optimism of post-war Minnesota is reflected in the following lines:

Our busy merchants scarce find leisure
To send to bank their surplus treasure.
Mechanics, laborers, lawyers too,
Find work enough for all to do,
(Doctors sedate must find it funny,
That they alone can't make much money.)"

By the middle sixties holiday celebrations in Minnesota were being influenced by people other than those from New England and the East. Europeans from England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries were settling in the North Star State by the thousands, and each group brought from the homeland its own method of celebrating the winter holidays. Hugo Nisbeth, a Swedish traveler who visited Minnesota in 1872, commented: "It is not only the Scandinavians who celebrate Christmas here in America in

¹⁰ *St. Anthony Express*, January 7, 1853. Carriers' greetings of the *Falls Evening News* and *Minnesota Republican* of St. Anthony and Minneapolis for 1859, the *St. Paul Daily Press* for 1866 and 1868, and the *Pioneer* for 1867 are in the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

a true ancient northern fashion, but even the Americans themselves have in late years begun to give more and more attention to this festival of the children and have as nearly as possible taken our method of celebration as a pattern." He drove out onto the prairie near Litchfield, where he spent the Christmas holiday with one of his countrymen who was living in a sod house, built half above and half underground.

Upon his return to Sweden, Nisbeth published a book about his travels in which he tells about the frontier festivities. The day before Christmas was spent in preparing for the celebration; among other things a "small sheaf of unthreshed wheat was set out for the few birds that at times circled around the house, in accordance with the lovely old Swedish custom." As in the fatherland, the principal celebration took place on Christmas Eve. "There was no Christmas tree, for fir trees are not yet planted in this part of Minnesota," he records, "but two candles stood on the white covered table and round these were placed a multitude of Christmas cakes in various shapes made by the housewife and such small presents as these pioneers were able to afford, to which I added those I had brought." Nisbeth was disappointed because the traditional Swedish Christmas dishes, *lutfisk* and rice porridge, were not served, but he observes that the "ham which took the place of honor in their stead banished all doubt that the settler's labor and sacrifice had not received its reward." After the meal the children were given their presents. "The gifts were neither costly nor tasteful, but they were *gifts* and that was all that was necessary," remarks Nisbeth. He relates that "on the wooden horse I had brought, the little three-year-old galloped over the hard-packed dirt floor of the sod house with as much joy and happiness undoubtedly as the pampered child upon one polished and upholstered."¹⁷

¹⁷ Nisbeth, *ante*, 8: 413-416.

The Christmas customs of the French-Canadian, of the New Englander and the Easterner, of the Scandinavian and the German, and of various other Europeans are among the contributions that these elements have made to Minnesota life. They transplanted, too, scores of other habits and characteristics, which, modified by the new environment, make up the social fabric of the North Star State.

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THE LONDON BACKGROUND OF THE RADISSON PROBLEM¹

Something can be done toward illuminating the Radisson problem by approaching it from the angle of London and the conditions that obtained there in the years soon after the Restoration. For the purpose of testing the credibility of the last portion of Radisson's narrative, some sentences from it need to be analyzed.

I

A beginning may be made with the following: "But y^e Hollanders being come to y^e River of Thames had stopp'd y^e passage, soe wee lost that opportunity." Here Radisson speaks the truth, although at first sight it may not appear so. It is generally known that the Dutch were in the Thames in 1665. It is not so well known that on June 1, 1666, the Dutch fleet appeared off the North Foreland. George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the English admiral, attacked. The North Foreland is the eastward projecting tip of the shire of Kent that guards the entrance to the Thames basin from the south. Major naval engagements took place in this theater of war on June 1, 2, and 3. Thus there was fighting at the very door of London. Naturally, then, Radisson is justified in writing: "So wee were put off till y^e next year." A short time later the ship in which he and his partner were to have gone out to Hudson Bay "was sent to Virginia and other places to know some news of y^e Barbadoes, and to be informed if that Island was not in danger."²

¹ This article is based upon materials collected in 1934 while the writer was studying in London as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

² *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, 245 (Boston, 1885); C. S. S. Higham, *Development of the Leeward Islands, 1660-1688*, 44-49 (Cambridge, 1921).

The projected voyage of 1667 is thus referred to: "Wee lost our second voyage, for y^e order was given to late for y^e fitting another ship, which cost a great deale of money to noe purpose."³ Tardiness of naval authorities in giving the order condemned the two Frenchmen to wait a full year before they could make another trial. But why was the order to fit out the royal ship of this year given so belatedly? The answer to this question is to be sought in general English history at this time. The Dutch war was raging, money was both scarce and in great demand—for one thing, London had just been devastated by the great fire—and Parliament was inclined to be recalcitrant in the matter of granting supply.⁴ The London merchants could not lend Charles money; the scarcity of funds and the carping spirit of the late session of Parliament worked their effect; talk of making peace with the Dutch was heard. At this stage the cabinet undertook the fatuous policy of reducing expenditure by laying up the fleet. England, primarily a sea power, withdrew her armaments into quiet havens, and trusted for protection to her coast defenses. Thus economy destroyed Radisson's voyage of this year.

Returning again to Radisson's text:

The third yeare wee went out with a new company in 2 small vessells, my Brother in one & I in another, & wee went together 400 leagues from y^e North of Ireland, where a sudden great storme did rise & put us asunder. The sea was soe furious 6 or 7 houres after that it did almost overturne our ship, so that wee were forced to cut our masts rather then cutt our lives; but wee came back safe, God be thanked, and y^e other, I hope, is gone on his voyage, God be with him. I hope to embarke myselve by y^e helpe of God this fourth yeare.⁵

Unquestionably the first sentence in this passage refers to the year 1668. Radisson's words "this fourth yeare" therefore apply to the twelvemonth period that, commencing in October, 1668, would end in October, 1669. Radis-

³ Radisson, *Voyages*, 245.

⁴ W. A. Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1667-1668*, xlv (London, 1905).

⁵ Radisson, *Voyages*, 245.

son's chronology of affairs in England must be based upon the fact that he and his partner arrived in England in or about October, 1665, and from this event Radisson consistently reckons forward. The voyage that he is hoping to make "this fourth year" is of course the one in which he actually departed from England in the early summer of 1669. He sailed in the "Wivenhoe" pink on its first journey toward Hudson Bay.

One single minute point requires explaining. Radisson writes that the gentleman who brought him and Groseilliers to England "was one of the Commissioners called Collo-nell George Carteret." In the seventeenth century "Carteret" and "Cartwright" were pronounced identically, and as we today pronounce the first of these names. Colonel George Cartwright was appointed a royal commissioner on April 23, 1664, at Westminster.⁶ This is the official to whom Radisson refers in the phrase quoted above. There was also a Sir George Carteret, with whom the explorers came into contact at Oxford.

This examination of Radisson's credibility redounds wholly to his favor. Concerning the events that occurred during his English residence, therefore, he is a reliable, accurate witness.

II

When did Radisson complete his manuscript? He himself does not date it, but from the evidence just presented it is to be inferred that the sentence "I hope to embarke my-selfe by y^e helpe of God this fourth year" gives a clue to the date when he finished writing his discourse. "This fourth year" means the period extending from October, 1668, to October, 1669. Now in order to arrive at Hudson Straits as early as possible after that icebound entry was open for navigation, it was necessary for a ship to leave

⁶ Radisson, *Voyages*, 244; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668*, no. 708 (London, 1880).

England about the first week in June. In 1668, for example, Radisson had sailed from the Thames basin early in June. The last possible date for him to pen the sentence quoted above would have been during the late spring of 1669. It is at this time, in my opinion, that he terminates his writing.

I arrived at this conclusion in November, 1934. In the December following, having made the acquaintance at London of Dr. Grace Lee Nute, I disclosed my results to her. The correctness of my thesis was confirmed, for Dr. Nute favored me with a view of a document that she had brought to light in the Hudson's Bay Company archives in London. I cite the evidence she has produced: "June 23, 1669. By money disbursed [by James Hayes] for translating a Booke of Radisons, £ 5."⁷ We are in a position, therefore, to discard as erroneous the theory concerning the date of the composition of Radisson's narrative advanced by its editor, Gideon D. Scull. He writes:

It is evident that the writer was busy on his voyage [from New England to London in 1665] preparing his narrative of travels for presentation to the King. Towards the conclusion of his manuscript he says: "We are now in y^e passage, and he y^t brought us . . . was taken by y^e Hollanders, and wee arrived in England in a very bad time for y^e plague and y^e warrs. Being at Oxford, wee went to Sir George Cartaret."⁸

Against this theory two objections can be urged. The error that Scull makes in his interpretation of the phrase "We are now in y^e passage" is little short of surprising when it is recalled that Scull was familiar with the uses of seventeenth century English. On this phrase Scull hangs his argument. In order to interpret this fragment correctly it must be read with reference to its context. Radisson has just been describing his relations with the New Englanders.

⁷ Ledger 1/101, folio 33, Hudson's Bay Company Archives. This excerpt is published by permission of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

⁸ Radisson, *Voyages*, 13.

He as much as says that he and his partner were no longer willing to trust them; consequently, the Frenchmen cross the ocean, bound for London and the court. "We are now in y^e passage," then, is as a matter of strict fact nothing more than an abrupt transitional sentence, employing that tense known to grammarians as the historical present and connecting the record of his fortunes in New England with the account of his arrival in England.

The other and more serious objection remains: even if Scull's theory were correct, it would only give a clue to the date of the completion of Radisson's narrative up to the time of the arrival of the two Frenchmen in England—that is, up to 1665. But it has just been pointed out that the last few pages of the narrative carry the story down to the late spring of 1669. Thus Scull would have to account for this composition in two parts and at two distinct periods, and give reasons therefor. He makes no attempt to do so.

III

Radisson and Groseilliers had departed from New England well armed with letters of introduction from the king's chief commissioner in the colonies, Colonel Richard Nicolls. The Frenchmen crossed the ocean with another royal commissioner, Colonel Cartwright, and eventually reached London. Radisson writes: "wee arrived in England in a very bad time for y^e plague and y^e warrs." War was declared on the Dutch on February 22, 1665. The plague made its appearance in the winter of 1664–65. In July, 1665, Charles, for health and safety, left London; by September the king and court were at Oxford, where Parliament was summoned to meet early in October. To Oxford, accordingly, Radisson and Groseilliers, doubtless still under Cartwright's wing, betook themselves. Radisson writes: "Being at Oxford, wee went to Sir George Carteret, who spoke to his Majestie, who gave us good hopes that wee should have a

ship ready for y^e next spring [*early in 1666*]." Charles II was sufficiently impressed with the Frenchmen's story to be willing to provide for the visitors out of the royal bounty: "y^e King did allow us 40 shillings a week for our maintenance, and wee had chambers in y^e Town by his order, where wee stayed 3 months."⁹ Fresh from the wilds of Canada, the adventurers were face to face with the supplest of courtiers and royalty itself.

Sir George Carteret was their intercessor at court; he arranged for the interview with the king. Carteret was a staunchly loyal supporter of the Stuarts. This baronet (*ca.* 1617–1679/80) was a leading courtier, holding many posts of profit and of honor after the Restoration. He was a privy councillor, treasurer of the navy (1660–67), vice-chamberlain of the royal household (1660–70), vice-treasurer (1667–73), and a commissioner of the board of trade (1668–72).¹⁰ His shadow fell on the American colonies: he had an equity in Carolina, of which he was a lord proprietor, and in New Jersey, too. He was financially interested in the African trade, and a successful slaving voyage by the Royal African Company meant money in his pocket. This was a breed of man who would listen closely to Radisson's story. In due course Carteret became a heavy shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company.

Radisson's text continues: "Afterwards y^e King came to London and sent us to Windsor, where wee stayed the rest of y^e winter." The inner meaning of this sentence, at once understood by contemporaries, is that the king put the two voyagers under the protection of his cousin, Prince Rupert, who resided in luxurious but highly original bachelor quarters at Windsor Castle.¹¹ Prince Rupert was famous in

⁹ Radisson, *Voyages*, 244; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 10:94 (London, 1887).

¹⁰ G[eorge] E. C[okayne], *Complete Baronetage*, 2:233 (Exeter, 1902).

¹¹ Radisson, *Voyages*, 245; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 49:413 (London, 1897).

his own day equally for his exploits in love, war, and science. He was too poor to marry, because Charles's government was too hard-pressed to pay the pension, generous enough on paper, that the king had promised him in November, 1660. By 1665 Rupert, perhaps more than a little irked by financial straitness, was thinking of himself as a possible lord proprietor of the newly acquired island of Jamaica. Then arrived Radisson and Groseilliers, with their tales of fabulous fortunes to be made in trade with the Indians. Rupert's interest in sugar never came to anything, but that in furs was afterward to yield substantial returns in cash and fame. He was destined to become the first governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Rupert was with the king in Oxford when Radisson and Groseilliers were first presented to his majesty.¹² Thus he, probably, was one of the first in England to hear their full story. If Rupert had the wit to recognize a good business proposition in the making, so did his secretary, James Hayes. This gentleman was a native of the hamlet of Beckington near Frome in Somerset. He was sworn of the privy council—a circumstance that indicates his close relations with Charles II. Hayes seems always to have maintained his friendship and regard for Radisson and his interest in Radisson's scheme was strong from the first. He disbursed the money, a sum of five pounds, to pay for the translation of Radisson's book from French into English. His name appears in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company as one of the original members. On June 28, 1670, not many weeks after the charter was signed by Charles, he made Hayes a knight.¹³ Sir James retained a financial interest in the Hudson's Bay Company until 1687. He

¹² T. Malthus, *Historical Memoires of the Life and Death of . . . Rupert, Prince Palatine of the Rhine*, 40 (London, 1683).

¹³ Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, 1: 188 (London, 1849); G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, 5: 241 (London, 1926); W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2: 244 (London, 1906).

died early in February, 1692/3. His trust in Radisson's scheme did not go unrewarded. On the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company, he became one of the original members of the "steering committee," as it were, which looked after the company's business affairs. From 1675 to 1685 he served as deputy governor; much of the time, therefore, he was second in command to his patron Prince Rupert, who remained governor till his death in 1682. After Rupert's death, James, Duke of York, was elected to the post of governor, and for a few years Sir James served under him.

The profits-hungry courtiers allowed no time to be wasted: they debated, discussed, and accepted the Frenchmen's proposals. At Windsor the two stayed with Rupert till spring came round. Then, according to Radisson, "Wee are sent for from that place, y^e season growing neare, and put into y^e hands of Sir Peter Colleton." The gentleman who took charge of the Frenchmen in the spring of 1666 was the son of Sir John Colleton. The baronet died during the summer of 1666, and Peter succeeded to one of the lord proprietorships in Carolina, to which in the year following he added an interest in the Bahamas. The Colletons, a numerous clan from Devonshire, were well connected, and their ample fortunes were broadly based on the sugar loaves of Barbados. Sir Peter served as governor of that island in 1673 and 1674.¹⁴

His mercantile connections were doubtless used by the little knot of men from whom the Hudson's Bay Company was to develop. "The ship was got ready something too late, and our master was not fit for such a Designe."¹⁵ Colleton's arrangements did not work out well. It is plain that preparations were tardy, and he must have picked out a sea captain who was accustomed to navigate the tropical

¹⁴ Radisson, *Voyages*, 245; G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, 3: 161 (Exeter, 1903).

¹⁵ Radisson, *Voyages*, 245.

Caribbean waters. To navigate northern frigid seas, different technical problems have to be faced; the investors would have been better advised to call upon an experienced member of the Muscovy Company, which traded with the White Sea.

Prince Rupert, James Hayes, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Peter Colleton were Radisson's earliest reliable and influential London friends. They stand for the original social and economic nucleus of the Hudson's Bay Company, as anyone who is familiar with the names of the earliest shareholders from 1670 onward will recognize. Thus the Hudson's Bay Company is only the institutional projection of the little knot of friends that grew up round Radisson and Groseilliers.

IV

Is it possible to account for the composition of Radisson's discourse or narratives? Late in May, 1668, written instructions were prepared in great detail to guide the masters of the ships who were about to set sail from the Thames basin for Hudson Bay. These instructions were signed, on behalf of the financial backers of the investing group, by Prince Rupert, the Earl of Craven, the Duke of Albemarle, Carteret, Hayes, and Colleton.¹⁶

The following item appears in a London newsletter of June 9, 1668:

The design set on foot some months since by Prince Rupert, the Lord General [Monk], and several other undertakers, for the discovery of the North-West Passage, being now brought to maturity, two small ketches, the *Norwich* [*Nonsuch*] and the *Eaglet*, set sail this week to Breton's Bay [*Button's Bay?*].¹⁷

On this expedition, Radisson sailed in the "Eaglet" and Groseilliers in the "Nonsuch." The latter vessel, Captain

¹⁶ This document, edited by Dr. Nute from the original manuscript in the Public Record Office, appears *post*, p. 419-423.

¹⁷ *The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall*, 56 (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Twelfth Report*, Appendix, part 7—London, 1890).

Zachary Gillam commander, succeeded in reaching Rupert's Land, where its party wintered on the east side of the bay in 1668-69. The "Eaglet," proving less seaworthy, was forced to turn back. Radisson had set forth with high hopes: almost exactly three months later to the day he set foot once more on English soil, when his ship, in a distressed condition, put in at Plymouth to refit. This was on August 5, 1668. Early in October, Hayes, Prince Rupert's secretary, wrote to the lords commissioners of the navy that he was ready, on behalf of his principals, to turn the king's ketch "Eaglet" over to the royal officials at Deptford. By this date, therefore, Radisson must have been once more in London.¹⁸

Thus for the first time since they had come to England, Radisson and Groseilliers were parted, and Radisson could look forward to an English winter without his familiar. He could expect to be thrown much on his own resources. A sociable man, and by now well connected in London and at court, he need not have anticipated a dull season in Restoration society. If he had any doubts how to employ his time, they must soon have been resolved, for, probably toward the end of the autumn, there arrived at London the personage who had just laid down the double responsibility of chief royal commissioner in America and of governor, on behalf of James, Duke of York, of that royal peer's propriety of New York province.

Colonel Richard Nicolls (1624-72) was no stranger to Radisson. The two gentlemen had become acquainted at Boston in May, 1665, when Nicolls was fresh from his triumph in effecting the conquest of New Amsterdam from the Dutch, and when Radisson and Groseilliers were still

¹⁸ *London Gazette*, August 10-13, 1668; State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 247/126. On November 6, 1668, Radisson received £19/6s/6d from John Portman of the Hudson Bay financial group. This sum no doubt represents the explorer's weekly allowance for the period from the date he arrived at Plymouth to the day the payment was made, a matter of just three months.

smarting from the treatment that the Boston merchants had meted out to them. Nicolls, a man of broad vision, well understood the significance to the New York colony of Radisson's unrivaled knowledge of the interior fur trade, and he had done his best to persuade Radisson and Groseilliers to turn toward New York as a base for their operations. But Cartwright's representations had carried the day in this three-cornered debate in which the now repentant Bostonians, realizing too late the price of their cheese-paring policy toward the French fur traders, urgently besought them to settle down on Massachusetts Bay. In the event, the two comrades had chosen to try their luck in London.

The meeting of Nicolls and Radisson at London in the autumn or early winter of 1668 probably is the critical point that led to the composition of Radisson's discourse.¹⁹ Nicolls had certain specific interests; Radisson had certain special knowledge. Nicolls had a desire for information which could be satisfied at this time by no other man in England than Radisson. From this relationship of stimulus and response there probably arose a condition which prepared Radisson's mind to practice an art for him rather unusual, that of literary composition. We need not delay long in pointing out the nature of Radisson's special knowledge, or what he had to contribute. The quality of his geographical learning, based on wide experience in the American interior, placed his colleague Groseilliers and himself, while they were in England, in an unapproachable position as sources of information. Radisson's geographical information must have been accepted as essentially cor-

¹⁹ Nicolls' resignation from the governorship took effect in August, 1668. His successor, Francis Lovelace, was already on the ground, and had been collaborating with him in the work of administration. As Nicolls was eager to return home—he had already petitioned the king to send out a successor to relieve him—we may assume that he wasted no time once he was free of official duties, and that he arrived in London by November, 1668, at the latest. With the prompt departure of a vessel, and prosperous winds, he may even have been there somewhat earlier.

rect by his English contemporaries, otherwise they would never have invested money in the scheme he was promoting.

Why was Nicolls, of all persons known to Radisson, the one man who could have been primarily responsible for prompting his pen? The relevant facts emerge if one glances briefly at an account of Nicolls' career, especially his American career. He sprang from a family that was staunchly royalist. As early as 1643 he took command of a troop of horse against the parliamentary forces. He followed the Stuarts into exile, and served under the Duke of York in the French army. At the Restoration he retired with his patron to London, and was a courtier with the post of groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of York. In 1664 Charles made him chief of the commission of four men charged with the investigation of the thorny New England situation and also ordered him to capture New Amsterdam. The duke appointed him governor of the province that he was expected to acquire. All these responsibilities he discharged in an acceptable manner. Nicolls was well known at court; Charles II, writing a personal letter to his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, has this to say of him: "He that tooke it [*New Amsterdam*] and is now there, is Nicols my brothers servant who you know very well."²⁰ Nicolls' connection with the crown and the court was of the most intimate sort, and he was regarded as tried and tested in his loyalty to the Stuarts.

When Nicolls returned to London he resumed his old post and once more served the Duke of York as groom of the bedchamber. Thus there is every possibility that Nicolls and Radisson were thrown together more than once, since both were members of the court circle. The possibility is more than plausible, it is downright cogent, for it was Nicolls who had provided Radisson and Groseilliers with letters of introduction when they shook New England's

²⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 13: 515 (New York, 1934); Cyril H. Hartman, *Charles II and Madame*, 121 (London, 1934).

dust from their feet and set out, under Cartwright's friendly eye, for London. In a sense, then, Radisson was Nicolls' protégé. Would not the patron look up the adventurer in London, where the career he had helped to further was now well advanced? It is most likely. And would Radisson forget his earliest patron, now returned to court? It is rather improbable.

As governor of New York, Nicolls had many problems to deal with; these are a part of the general fabric of American colonial history of the time and need not be discussed here. But one problem must be considered, since it explains Nicolls' special interest in Radisson's geographical knowledge. This is the problem of the New York frontier. It has several aspects. How were the New York merchants (and, in the end, the London merchants) to be assured of the continuance in their hands of that fur trade which, as carried on previously under Dutch rule, had meant rich profits? How were the Iroquois to be brought to a state of dependence, or at least kept in good humor, toward their new overlords, the English? How were French intrusions on the interior borders of New York to be checked? What was the extent of the influence of the Iroquois over the interior lands? What were the present accomplishments and the potential future interests of the French officials at Quebec, with regard to expansion into the interior of North America? And, finally, what was that interior like, where few if any Englishmen had ever dared set foot? As governor of New York the practical problems of administration faced by Nicolls in the conduct of his office had brought him face to face with these and related questions.

On the eve of the conquest, Dutch relations with the Indians on the upper Hudson had been either neutral or friendly. When trouble arose in other quarters, the Dutch several times renewed their alliance with the Mohawk and other Iroquois tribes. Thus during the last period of

Stuyvesant's rule the troubles centering in Fort Orange led to no serious results; amicable relations were maintained with the confederacy of the Five Nations. The French had earlier attempted to establish fortified headquarters on Lake Onondaga; these they evacuated in 1658, after the Dutch, fearful lest the Iroquois fur trade be diverted to Montreal, had encouraged the Mohawk to put pressure on the Onondaga to turn against their French guests. Mohawk and Oneida forces combined in the years following to make life miserable for the French of the St. Lawrence Valley as well as for their Indian allies. During the consequent series of Iroquois excursions and alarms, there occurred the transition from Dutch to English rule. In 1664 Nicolls assumed power in place of Peter Stuyvesant.²¹

Nicolls at once informed himself concerning all urgent problems that demanded attention. He was scarcely warm in his new berth before the frontier issue forced itself upon him. He sent Cartwright to represent him at Albany, where a peace was signed with the Mohawk on September 24, 1664.²² It was well that Cartwright went, for the arrival at Quebec of Tracy in June, 1665, with a large contingent of soldiery boded ill for the Iroquois and the English who were ambitious to exert control over them. The French moved promptly. The Sieur de Courcelles set out in the dead of winter, in January, 1666, with a goodly force and finally reached what is now Schenectady, where to his disappointment he learned that the Mohawk were absent on the warpath against other enemies. He learned also that the English now ruled in the Hudson Valley.²³ Nicolls at New York town did not long remain unaware of this bold

²¹ A. C. Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York*, 1: 320, 2: 128-130 (New York, 1933). Radisson's part in the evacuation of 1658 is well known. See his *Voyages*, 123-131.

²² *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668*, no. 806.

²³ G. M. Wrong, *Rise and Fall of New France*, 1: 373-380 (London, 1928).

incursion. His intelligence service supplied him with numerous details of the French invasion. Promptly he drew up a report based thereon, sending one copy to John Winthrop, Jr., the governor of Connecticut, and the other to Whitehall.²⁴

In June, 1666, Nicolls was anxiously watching the efforts of Winthrop to compose peace with the Indians who lived along the border of Connecticut. At the same time Tracy, the French leader, was making propositions at Quebec to the English of New York. He had under his command, he wrote, so many soldiers that now was the very time to destroy the Iroquois. He affirmed his benevolent attitude toward the English. On July 6, 1666, Nicolls learned that Tracy was on the march, bound on an expedition to chastise the Mohawk near Albany. Nicolls hoped that the Bostonians would aid him with men, so that a combined English force could cut off the French on their return.²⁵

It is not possible in this place to follow in detail the further story of French-English relations on the New York frontier during Nicolls' regime. The French side of the story may be followed in the standard histories of New France, and Nicolls' reactions may be studied in the interesting series of papers dealing with this matter that issued from him.²⁶ Enough has been said, however, to show the background of this border problem and to indicate that it was a living issue which faced Nicolls from the start of his

²⁴ A copy of the report that Nicolls sent to Winthrop is among the Boyle Papers, in the library of the Royal Society, London. With it is a covering letter from Winthrop to a member of the Royal Society which makes possible the attribution of the document to Nicolls. The copy sent to Whitehall is listed as number 1108 in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668*. The document has been printed by J. R. Brodhead, in his *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 3: 118 (Albany, 1853).

²⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668*, nos. 1219, 1232.

²⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668*, nos. 806, 1094, 1108, 1219, 1228, 1232, 1251, 1260, 1304, 1305, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1461, 1462, 1466, 1491, 1604, 1616, 1628, 1766, 1813.

administration. He bequeathed the problem, as a matter of fact, to his successor in office, Lovelace. It was no simple issue, for among the factors involved were the special role of the Mohawk in the Iroquois confederacy; the relations of the Iroquois as a whole toward the New England Indians, toward the French Indians, toward the French, and toward the English; the French claims to the Lake Champlain-Mohawk Valley-western New York sector of the frontier; and the control of the profitable fur trade with the interior farther west. Was this to be in French or in English hands? After broad experience with this frontier problem, then, Nicolls returned to London and—lucky man—found there the one person in England who could resolve his curiosity and furnish him with the desired economic and military information concerning the regions that lay beyond the New York settlements.

Nicolls probably prevailed upon Radisson to undertake the preparation of a discourse embodying part of his special knowledge. The probable time for the commencement of composition would be in the late autumn or early winter of 1668. The work—a winter's task at the least, for one like Radisson who was not practiced in literary arts—must have been completed, at the latest, by the end of the spring of 1669. He wrote, or perhaps dictated, in his own language, French. His manuscript was translated into English as early as June, 1669, for in that month, as has been noted, Prince Rupert's secretary paid five pounds to the anonymous translator. The manuscript which we possess has descended to us through Samuel Pepys, secretary of the navy office, and this circumstance is readily comprehensible, since Pepys and the proprietor of New York province, the Duke of York, lord high admiral, were in almost daily official contact. Nicolls was one of the duke's suite, utterly devoted to his master's interests, and, though the colonel never returned to New York, he never forgot that province or its

problems. In urging Radisson to turn penman, he would be counseling a labor plainly intended to benefit the duke as proprietor of New York.

The purpose of Radisson's discourse must have been in part to supply the exact knowledge upon which the authorities, charged with the responsibility of protecting New York's frontier, could base an intelligent and up-to-the-minute policy. According to this interpretation, *the first three narratives of Radisson's discourse are, in essence, documents concerned primarily with the problems of the New York frontier*. Two unifying threads run through page after page of Radisson's thought—information about the Iroquois, on whom the fate of the future English fur trade with the West really depended, and news concerning French accomplishments and movements in the interior.

Radisson's discourse must, therefore, be interpreted by us from the vantage points primarily of Albany and secondarily of London. Radisson devotes the equivalent of slightly less than sixty-one printed pages to his first voyage, "The Relation of my Voyage, being in Bondage in the Lands of the Irokoits, w^{ch} was the next yeare after my coming into Canada."²⁷ In this narrative Radisson describes the homeland of the Mohawk near Albany and the western New York lands of the Iroquois. He casually describes the Indian route via Lake George and Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence, as well as other items too numerous to mention. In dealing with this geographical area he writes at length, because what he experienced there is of considerable utility for his London friends.

Then follows "The Second Voyage made in the Upper Country of the Iroquoits."²⁸ In this caption the emphasis should be placed on the word "Upper." Here he tells about lands that are much farther removed from Albany, but are nonetheless of significance because of English in-

²⁷ Radisson, *Voyages*, 25.

²⁸ Radisson, *Voyages*, 86.

terest in the western fur trade and of Iroquois influence there. This narrative is somewhat shorter than the first relation; it amounts to forty-eight printed pages.

Does the hypothesis give any help in interpreting the third relation? This is the narrative of such great interest to historians of the Middle West and Canada. In this relation, which bears the title "The Auxoticiat Voyage into the Great and filthy Lake of the Hurrons, Upper Sea of the East, and Bay of the North," Radisson deals with the upper lakes, the "Far West" of the time, and the approaches toward Hudson Bay from the south.²⁹ His theater of action is immensely wide, yet for this vast area he requires no more than thirty-seven and a half printed pages. To cover his largest topic, thus, he contents himself with writing the shortest of all four of his relations. His procedure is reasonable enough, however, for what practical interest could the English have in that remote interior of the upper lakes in 1668-69? And when were they likely to approach its borders? None could say at the time of Radisson's writing. Therefore Radisson's pen moved swiftly. He omitted mention of much that had no concrete utility for a governor of New York with a sharp eye cocked on Albany and the French rivals' fur trade. His text shows how his mind worked. At one point he starts out to describe the "Escotecke" nation, then draws himself up shortly with "I will not insist much upon their way of living, ffor of their ceremonies heere you will see a pattern." He is resolved to compress his account, and the very next sentence is an announcement to the reader to that effect: "In the last voyage that wee made I will lett you onely know what cours we runned in 3 years' time."³⁰ That is to say, he is not going to furnish a description of Indian sociology; instead he is going to confine himself strictly to a record of his wanderings in the interior.

²⁹ Radisson, *Voyages*, 134.

³⁰ Radisson, *Voyages*, 148.

Essentials, no trimmings! That was what was wanted, one infers, in 1668-69. A few pages farther on, however, the natural expansionist in Radisson comes to the fore: he describes the fine country where he and Groseilliers wintered, he tells of a beautiful lake, he writes enthusiastically about the fertility of those interior lands. He declares they can be cheaply conquered. This passage and the one which follows are, I think, significant. Radisson is eager to point out not only the fur trade advantages, but also the agricultural advantages of what is now the upper Midwest. He ends with a just remark: "It's true, I confesse, that the accesse is difficult" from Montreal and from Albany.³¹ The third voyage tells relatively little, compared to what Radisson could tell, because there is little to record either of French accomplishments or Iroquois influence in this far western theater. Thus it seems to conform to the fundamental logic of Radisson's literary purpose. What suited the desires of Nicolls and his friends has resulted in causing much work for historians who follow after. If there is a Radisson problem, let us blame not Radisson but Nicolls.

The third relation ends sharply and clearly with this caption: "The ende of the Auxotacicac voyage, w^{ch} is the third voyage."³² The relation which follows has no contemporary title. This is the voyage in which Radisson gives the impression to some modern readers that he actually reached Hudson Bay overland from the south. In any case, it is a fact that he did travel far and wide in the upper lakes country, and that he had the attainment of that important objective well to the fore in his mind. The fourth relation bridges the gap between the information Radisson is supplying to Nicolls about the New York frontier and that written out for his financial supporters who are, or may be, inquisitive concerning the nature of the lands bordering on Hudson Bay. He makes the point that "Those great lakes had not

³¹ Radisson, *Voyages*, 150, 151.

³² Radisson, *Voyages*, 172.

so soone comed to our [*French*] knowledge if it had not ben for those brutish people."³³ Fear of the Iroquois had made Radisson and Groseilliers keep shy of this tribe; "two men had not found out y^e truth of these seas so cheape." Thus fear of the Iroquois was one cause leading to their distinguished discoveries.

Radisson rounds out his relation by telling how he and Groseilliers left New France in disgust and how they went to New England, where they met Cartwright and Nicolls. In this final portion he moves along so rapidly that it is entirely obvious he is writing for someone who already understands a good deal about his previous career. This circumstance explains, too, why he commences his discourse in an abrupt manner. He does not indulge in a long introduction explaining why he is writing this discourse, but plunges at once into his dramatic recital.

What of the significance of Radisson's discourse for his contemporaries? When the explorer finished writing his manuscript, Nicolls had the material to formulate an intelligent frontier policy for New York; the Duke of York knew more than ever before about the potential wealth of his province; and the Hudson's Bay Company capitalists were in a position to see, as in a sudden flash, how New France could be humbled by simultaneous pressure from an English fort on Hudson Bay on the north and from Albany on the south. Between the blades of these scissors, the fur trade and thus the life of New France could be cut to pieces. The French king's loss would be the English king's gain.

A fairly extensive acquaintance with the facts relating to the development of Anglo-American expansionist literature must be my authority for asserting that no piece of writing of this type simply appears without cause. There is always an explanation for the composition of an expansionist tract or discourse or narrative, and the explanation for its appear-

³³ Radisson, *Voyages*, 187.

ance is precise or not, in proportion to our knowledge of the economic and social background out of which the given piece of literature has arisen. To explain the preparation of Radisson's discourse, I have framed a hypothesis based upon such ascertained facts as are available. Our knowledge of the London milieu of Radisson's day is not as full as we should like to have it. A salutary spirit of caution therefore bids us consider this as a hypothesis and nothing more.

V

Those who may be tempted to consider this explanation as too daring, however, are invited to take into account a set of facts that seems to bear a close relation to this hypothesis. Daniel Denton was a colonial who interested himself in the prosperity of New York province. He went to London and in 1670 caused to be published there the first separate English account of that province, *A Brief Description of New York, Formerly Called New-Netherlands*. Denton had been granted lands by Nicolls in East Jersey, had served in the Hempstead Convention in February, 1665, and a short time later had been appointed a justice of the peace by the governor.³⁴ Useful for the present discussion are certain observations made by Denton in some prefatory remarks addressed "To the Reader."

"I Have here," he writes, "thorough [*sic*] the Instigation of divers Persons in ENGLAND, and elsewhere, presented you with a Brief but true Relation of a known unknown part of AMERICA." This colonial tells us, then, that the stimulus to write this book comes from "divers Persons" in England. The lord proprietor of New York, the Duke of York, was just at this juncture hard pressed for money. He wanted to encourage settlers to go, and merchants to send their ships, to his undeveloped province, in order that quitrents, dues, customs duties, a waxing fur trade, and a

³⁴ V. H. Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, 1668-1673*, 1: 132n. (Albany, 1910).

flourishing economic life generally would replenish the lean purse of his royal highness. Of all this Nicolls was well aware, and it may be assumed, with every feeling of confidence, that either James or Nicolls, his protégé, or both of them, persuaded Denton to do something which it was easy and profitable for him to do. Denton writes nothing but what he has himself seen — so he assures the reader. "For the unknown part, which is . . . some places lying to the Northward yet undiscovered by any ENGLISH . . . yet I shall not feed your expectation with any thing of that nature; but leave it till a better discovery shall make way for such a Relation."³⁵

If those interested in New York had urged Denton to write an account of that province, is it not a fair inference that they could have followed a similar course with Radisson?³⁶ By the time Denton's tract was published in 1670, Radisson's completed discourse probably was safely put away for future reference among the Duke of York's business papers. What with Denton's tract, which strictly confined itself to "The known part which is either inhabited, or lieth near the Sea," and Radisson's, which dealt at large

³⁵ Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New York*, sig. A², recto, verso.

³⁶ Dr. Nute tells me that Groseilliers was considered by his contemporaries in England to be a better educated man than Radisson. There is some evidence that Groseilliers had been instructed, apparently, by the father of one of the nuns at Tours; he had also been with the Jesuits at Quebec and at Huronia. By contrast with his young partner, he was literary, for we know that he kept on at least one occasion a journal of his observations in the wilderness. Yet it was Radisson who actually composed the discourse which records their wanderings. When the explorers' London friends wanted information concerning America, Groseilliers was not present to furnish what was desired. Thus it was that upon Radisson's shoulders was placed the labor of writing out the record of their travels. It is possible to see in this circumstance a further, if incidental, argument against Scull's theory of composition in 1665. In bringing this study to a close, it is a pleasure to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. Nute. When she learned that I had been working on Radisson's discourse, considered as a piece of Anglo-American expansionist literature, she generously placed at my disposal various unpublished documents bearing on the problem and helped me in numerous other ways.

with those places lying to the "Northward" — concerning which Denton either did not know or would not tell — the Duke of York had reason to congratulate himself, so far as his American possessions were concerned, with the literary memorials of his vast propriety. Thus the economic needs of Anglo-American expansion had generated two important pieces of expansionist literature.

FULMER MOOD

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RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS' CONTRIBUTION TO GEOGRAPHY

One method for determining the western and northern limits of the country explored by Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, in their trips about Lake Superior and beyond appears never to have been employed by historians. It is the assembling of all the reports about their journeys as recorded by men who heard the Frenchmen recount their experiences. From any considerable body of such reports the historian and geographer can draw deductions that will approximate the truth regarding the itinerary of the two explorers.

At least seven contemporary forms of Radisson and Groseilliers' story of their "discovery" have survived, five of which are printed herewith. The most indefinite of the seven, as well as the longest and one of the latest, is Radisson's *Voyages*.¹ This is in print and need not be discussed here. The earliest appears in the preface to the *Voyages*.²

Another form of the story, very brief and to the point, also is in print and has been used by biographers of the two men, though it is not so well known as the *Voyages*. It is Henry Oldenburg's letter of December 30, 1665, to Robert Boyle at Oxford, which is printed here from the original in the Royal Society.³ The version already in print has minor inaccuracies. The letter was written from London while

¹ *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684* (Boston, 1885).

² This is a letter by Colonel George Cartwright, not Carr, as printed in certain works, of December 14, 1665, to Lord Arlington. It may also be found in *Maine Historical Collections*, 4:299 (second series). It tells of Radisson and Groseilliers' account of "A Passage from the West Sea to the South Sea, and of a great trade of Beaver in that Passage."

³ Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary of the Royal Society, was a man deeply interested in science, geography, and philosophy. The extract herewith printed appears in Boyle's *Works*, 5:345 (London, 1744).

Radisson and Groseilliers, lately arrived in England after capture by a Dutch caper, were attending Charles II at court at Oxford. Though it is only a third-hand report of the interview at Oxford, it is significant as being the earliest account of any exactness that has survived. It is plain, if Oldenburg's informant gave him a truthful description of what happened at Oxford, that the French narrators there claimed no less than a personal discovery of a passage to the South Sea.

Doubtless they told their story to Charles II in their native tongue; and the king and his brother, much at home in that language, were evidently greatly interested in the odyssey.⁴ Incredible as it may seem, we have the king's own version of the story. It is to be found in a letter addressed to his brother, the Duke of York, and is dated February 7, 1667/8. The king contented himself with "great hope" of discovering a passage to the South Sea.

The most explicit account was written by the men who invested their money in sending out an expedition to prove the truth of the "discovery." One may be sure that they examined and cross-examined the Frenchmen on every point of the narrative before they put their hands into their pockets to support the explorers and their enterprise. The letter of instruction from the nascent Hudson's Bay Company to its sea captains may therefore be taken to contain accurate information as to what the explorers had told of their travels in western North America.⁵ In brief it was the disclosure that the interior of the continent could be

⁴ It is necessary only to refer to the long residence of Charles II and his brother in France and to the former's French correspondence with his sister to show how great was the proficiency of the three in the French language.

⁵ This letter is by no means unknown to scholars, but it seems desirable, nevertheless, to print its full text here. A reference is made to it in George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 10 n. (New York, 1910); and excerpts from it are partly quoted, partly paraphrased by Agnes Laut in *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, 108, 109 (New York, 1908).

reached more easily from Hudson Bay than by the painful and dangerous route via the Great Lakes. The instructions give no hint as to whether Radisson and his brother-in-law claimed to have been at their "stinking lake." The absurdity of the second part of their story, which tells of the closeness of the sea to that lake, makes one believe that the entire account was simply their version of another Indian attempt to explain the geography of the continent to the whites. The early narratives of explorers and missionaries are replete with such vague references to the Western Sea and its tributaries. In this instance, however, the account as a whole is fairly accurate. If, as seems probable, the "stinking lake" was Lake Winnipeg (Winnipeg means "stinking" in one of the Indian languages), Radisson and Groseilliers were correct in their statements that that body of water was easily accessible from Hudson Bay, and that, through the lake—but by a route requiring weeks of toilsome paddling instead of seven days—lay the easiest canoe route to the western ocean.

The last of this group of documents exists in two forms, both of which appear below. For reasons which are very significant, but which need not be discussed here, the earlier form was revoked after Groseilliers returned from Hudson Bay in October, 1669. In a volume in the Public Record Office in London, it will be found struck through with lines which denote that it was invalid. At the end of the document the following statement is written: "Memorand this Warrant was afterwards altered as in page 129." It is fortunate that the earlier form could not be totally obliterated, since, in some ways, it is the most interesting of all the documents. For one thing, it is probably Radisson's own version of the "discovery." Groseilliers, as the elder of the two men and the more experienced, was regarded as their spokesman. The other accounts—the *Voyages* excepted—probably reflect his language and ideas. When

this warrant was penned, however, Groseilliers had been absent from England a full year. Radisson, on the other hand, had returned to England in August, 1668.⁶ It is believed that he had filled the intervening months by writing his *Voyages*. The translation of that document was paid for at practically the identical time of the writing of this warrant, and there was probably a close relation between the two events.⁷ Moreover, the phraseology of the warrant reflects the *Voyages*, especially in the spelling of the word designating the Sioux Indians, "Nadouseranohs." This was a new word to Englishmen, and the penman of the warrant doubtless had a translation of the *Voyages* at his elbow for ready reference for just such a case as this.

It is not necessary here to point out the significance of the two forms of the last document for the expansion of the British Empire and for the impending struggle between France and Great Britain to possess the North American continent. Here we are concerned only with the growth of geographical knowledge of that continent. Radisson and Groseilliers' contribution to it may be said to have been information that a relatively easy canoe route led from Hudson Bay to Lake Winnipeg; and that from that lake one could go, by the principal Indian canoe route, to the western ocean. That Radisson and Groseilliers themselves ever saw Lake Winnipeg is extremely doubtful.⁸ Whether

⁶A newsletter from Plymouth, in the *London Gazette*, August 10-13, 1668, notes the return of the "Eagle—Ketch" from the vicinity of Newfoundland the preceding Wednesday, August 5, having "been severely handled by storm." The vessel, on which Radisson had embarked, appears to have been called indiscriminately "Eaglet" and "Eagle" by those who knew or sailed upon it.

⁷Fulmer Mood, "The London Background of the Radisson Problem," *ante*, p. 391-413. The evidence that Radisson's *Voyages* was translated about this time may be found in Ledger 1/101, folio 33, Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The reference to the translation is herewith published by permission of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

⁸Groseilliers was in Three Rivers on August 4, 1658, and Radisson was in Quebec on May 29 and 31, 1659. The record of a suit of Bar-

or not they made their "discovery" in person is, however, immaterial, for on the strength of their *representations* of it, practical business men undertook the opening of the region between Lake Superior, Lake Winnipeg, and Hudson Bay.⁹

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

HENRY OLDENBURG TO ROBERT BOYLE, DECEMBER 30, 1665

[Boyle Papers, Royal Society — A. L. S.]

. . . Surely I need not tell you from hence, what is said here with great joy of ye discovery of a North-west-passage, made by 2 English and one French man, lately represented by ym to his maj[est]y at Oxford, and answered by a royall graunt of a vessell, to sayle into Hudson's bay, and thence into the South-Sea, these men affirming, as I heare, yt w[i]th a boat they went out of a Lake in Canada, into a river, w[hi]ch discharged itself North-west into the South-Sea, into w[hi]ch they went, and returned North-East into Hudson's Bay. I hope, if this be truth, I shall receive the favor of y[ou]r confirmation, together with a correction of mistakes, as to ye particulars. . . .¹⁰

tholemy Bertaut versus Médard Chouart on August 4, 1658, is in the register in the courthouse at Three Rivers; and Radisson's signature appears on two documents, dated May 29 and 31, 1659, in the *greffe* of Audouart in the courthouse at Quebec. The latter are receipts in favor of the widow Sylvestre. Thus the two men could not have been absent *together* on their "voyage" for more than fifteen months, when, on August 21, 1660, they returned to Montreal. A trip to Lake Winnipeg, much less to Hudson Bay, in such a brief period is unthinkable in view of other trips that they made into the Sioux country on this same voyage.

*The chapter of Canadian history has yet to be written that tells of the first exploration of waterways into the interior from Port Nelson and Lake Superior and along the Albany River, largely by Radisson, Groseilliers and his son, Jean Baptiste Chouart, Jean Baptiste Péré and two companions, Du Lhut and his brother, and a few others. This was a race between two nations in an effort to be the first to spy out the land, to claim its sovereignty, and to control its great wealth of beaver pelts. The editor of these documents hopes to devote a portion of her forthcoming biography of Radisson and Groseilliers to this topic.

¹⁰A postscript to this letter, dated January 16, 1665/6, mentions the subject again: "I Doubt, ye good news, we had here, of ye discovery of a Northwest passage, is not true, because you would else, I am persuaded, have done me the favor of confirming it by a word or two." See Boyle, *Works*, 5: 348.

CHARLES II TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, FEBRUARY 7, 1667/8

[State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, Entry Book 44/26, Public Record Office.]

MOST D^r & MOST ENT[IRELY] B[ELOVE]D BRO.

Wee gr[reet] you well.

Whereas O^r Dear Cousin Pr[ince] Rupert George Duke of Albe-marle William Earle of Craven & others having been informed by two Frenchmen who have lived long in Canada & have been up in y^e great Lakes that lye in the midst of that part of America, That there is great hope of finding some passage through those Lakes into the South Sea are thereby encouraged & have accordingly resolved to set out ships for a further discovery thereof; and the better to enable them in that their undertaking, they have humbly besought Us to Lend them one of Our small Vessells for the first expedicon onely; Wee are graciously pleas'd to condescend unto that their request, and have hereby thought fit to signify Our pl[easure] unto you on that behalf, That you give Order for the Eaglet Ketch to be further delivered unto such person or persons as they shall appoint to receive the same to be by them used & employed as aforesaid for this their first Voyage onely but so as they Rigg & victuall the sd. Vessell at their own charge. And for so doing this shall be y^r Warrant. Given &c Febr 7th 1667.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAP^{de} WILLIAM STANNARD COMANDER OF THE
EAGLET KETCH AND CAPTAIN ZACHARIAH GUILLAM COMANDER
OF THE NONSUCH KETCH IN RELACON TO THE VOYAGE NOW
UNDERTAKEN FOR HUDSONS BAY

[State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 251/180, Public Record Office.]

You are with the first wind that presents to saile with the s^d vessels unto Hudsons Bay either by the Northward or Westward according to your owne discretion endeavouring to keepe company as much as you can and in order there unto you are to appointe your Places of Rendezvous in case of separation

When it shall Please God to bring you thither you are to saile to such place as M^r Gooseberry and M^r Raddison shall direct you within the Bay and there endeavour to bring yo^r said vessels into some safe Harbour in ord^r to trade with the Indyans there and you are to deliver unto them the goods you carry by small p^cells with this Caution that there be no more than fifty Pounds worth at a time out of each shipp

and that when they returne on board with such goods as they shall have in Exchange from the Natives you stowe the same on board the vessells before you deliver out any more. This being according to the particuler advice wee have recieved of M^r Gooseberry and M^r Raddison themselves

You are to take notice that the wampumpeage w^{ch} you carry with you is part of our Joynt Cargoe wee having bought it for our money of M^r Gooseberry and M^r Raddison and is to be delivered by small quantities with like Caution as the other goods

You are upon yo^r first arrivall there to raise some fortifications upon the shore for your more convenient accomodation and safety in the prepaireing whereof both your shipps Companies are to give their mutuall assistance and you are allwaies to have extraordinary Care of your Vessells to prevent any Surprise.

As soone as you have gotten together of the Comodities of the Country to any considerable value you are to putt them all on board the Nonsuch Ketch into w^{ch} Capt. Stannard is to remove with so many of the company of the Eaglett Ketch as you shall Judge convenient to saile her home and shall bringe along with him M^r Gooseberry upon the said Vessell and also you are to use your utmost endeavo^r to bring some of the copper or other mineralls of that Country making what hast you can in the dispatch of the said vessell that so it may be out of the streights before the Ice doth hinder

Capⁿ Guillam is to remaine behind with M^r Raddison upon the Eaglet Ketch into w^{ch} you are to remove the Seamen of the Nonsuch Ketch and all such comodities as remaine undisposed of together with all such provisions as shall be more then necessary for the said Nonsuch Ketch in her returne and the s^d Capt Guillam and M^r Raddison are to trade with the Inhabitants of the Country collect what goods they can against the next returne from England.

M^r Thomas Gorst is to remaine also in the Country to keepe the accompts of the Voiadge and to be assistant to Capt. Guillam and M^r Raddison and if either of them should happen to dye then the said M^r Gorst and the chiefe mate of the said Ketch are to be Joynd with the survivour for the management of the affaires

Note: that by the mate wee meane M^r Sheppard

You are to have in yo^r thoughts the discovery of the Passage into the South sea and to attempt it as occasion shall offer with the advice

and direction of M^r Gooseberry and M^r Raddison, or one of them they having told us that it is but 7 daies padling or sailing from the River where they intend to trade and Harbour unto the stinking Lake and not above 7 daies more to the streight w^{ch} leads into that sea they call the South sea and from thence but forty or fifty Leagues to the sea it selfe in all w^{ch} streight it Ebbs and flowes by meanes whereof the passage up and downe will be quicke and if it be possible you are to gett so much light in this matter before the returne of the Nonsuch Ketch as may encourage us the next spring to send a vessell on purpose for that discovery

Captaine Guillam is to remaine wth the Eaglett Ketch in the place where Capt Stannard shall leave him untill his returne except some good reason offer for his removeall w^{ch} if it happen then he is to leave such intelligence as may direct Capt Stannard or whom wee shall send to find him

And Whereas wee doe intend by Gods permission upon the returne of Capt Stannard to send from hence the next year for the further encouragem^t of this action wee thinke fitt to signify that Capt Guilliam is to be in expectacon of some shipp or shippes from us untill the latter End of August 1669 after wch. time if none come wee must leave it to his discretion by and with the advice of M^r Raddison either to come straite home or to stay longer there as shall by them be thought best but if he shall have disposed of the Cargo before that time and gotten to trade on board then if M^r Raddison shall soe advise he may come home leaving the said M^r Raddison and M^r Gorst and such others as shall be willing to stay behind to provide trade ag^t the next returne of the Shippes.

You are to keepe exact Journalls of all proceedings and observations and to be curious in your Soundings that wee may know the depth of the waters in all places w[h]ere you come and according to the best of your Skill shall provide such mapps as may give us an accompt of the places where you goe¹¹

¹¹ For accounts of the adventures of Captain Gillam and his vessel of sixty tons on this momentous voyage, see "A Breviate of Captain Zechariah Gillam's Journal to the North-West, in the Nonsuch-Catch, in the Year 1668," in John Seller, *The English Pilot, the Fourth Book*, 5-9 (London, 1689), and Joseph Robson, *A Short History of the Discovery of Hudson's Bay*, Appendix 1, p. 5 (London, 1752). The former contains a map of Hudson Bay by John Thorton, which almost certainly is based, in part at least, on maps that Gillam and his company supplied.

If it shall happen that you cannot find the Places and Trade proposed and that noe considerable discoveryes are likely to be made and that M^r Gooseberry and Mr. Raddison shall without force or Compulsion give under theire hands that there is neither Trade considerable nor discovery to be made by them.

Then it is our order that Capt Guillam doe bring the Nonsuch Ketch directely home having first putt her cargoe and all such provisions as he can spare on board the Eaglett and taken out of the Eaglett such men as shee may spare w^{ch} are to be brought home to save our charges together with M^r Gooseberry and M^r. Raddison and Capt. Stannard is then to saile to Newfoundland and there to sell such provisions as may be spared for Bills of Exchange and from thence he is to goe to New Jerzey or New Yorke, w^{ch} he shall judge most for our advantage and if he shall thinke fitt to goe to New Jerzey he is to apply himselfe to M^r Phillipp Carterett, who is Gouv^r there and deliver our Letters to him who will wee doubt not give his best advice and assistance as to the disposing of the Cargoe and lading back of the Ketch.¹²

Wee conceive that some small private adventurers may be also carryed by you and your men w^{ch} wee doe not refuse to allow but doe absolutely restraints all persons from tradeing themselves with the Indians because thereby our Trade may be destroyed and the said M^r Gooseberry and M^r Raddison loose theire credit with the Indians wherefore it is Our Order that all such Private adventurers be disposed of in like manner as our own goods are wherein wee doubt not but the adventurers will find theire gaine sufficient

Wee doe also declare that if by accident you meete with any sea horse or mors teeth or make any advantage by killing of whales It is to be made good to our accompt.

Lastly wee desire and require you to use the said M^r Gooseberry and M^r Raddison with all manner of Civility and Courtesy and to take care that all your Company doe beare a perticular respect unto them they being the persons upon whose Credit wee have undertaken this expedition

¹² Philip Carteret (1639-1682) was a fourth cousin of Sir George Carteret, the patron of Radisson and Groseilliers. He was the first governor of New Jersey. See the *Dictionary of American Biography* for a sketch of his life.

Which wee beseech Almighty God to prosper

and was signed

RUPERT

ALBERMALE [*sic*]

CRAVEN

G CARTERETT

J HAYES

P COLETON

THO. GORST W^m STANNARD Capt of y^e Eaglett

ZACH. GUILLAM Capt of the Nonsuch

[*Endorsed:*] Discoveryes

Voyedg for y^e N. West passadge 1668

GRANT OF THE TRADE & TERRITORIES OF HUDSONS BAY TO
SIR ED HUNGERFORD & C

[State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, Entry Book 44/25, folios 107-108,
Public Record Office.]

Whereas Our Trusty and Welbeloved Sir Edward Hungerford Bar^t Sir John Robinson and Sir Robert Vyner Kn^{ts} & Bar^{ts} Sir Peter Colleton Bar^t James Hayes and John Kirk Esq^{rs} are by the information of experienced persons wel[1] satisfied that some of the great Lakes in the North parts of America have an Outlet by Navigable Rivers into Hudsons Bay by meanes whereof there may bee discoveries made of very great advantage to us and Our Kingdom of England by finding some passage through those Lakes into the South Sea or by finding some Trade for Furs, Minerales, or other considerable commodities; In regard whereof and for their encouragem^t in the great expences they shall bee at upon that designe — they have humbly besought Us to grant unto them their Heirs and Assigns the sole Trade a[n]d comers of all those Seas Streights and Bayes in the said North parts of America: Wee are graciously pleased to condescend unto that their request; And it is Our will and pleasure that you prepare a Bill for Our Royall Signature to pass Our Great Seale containing Our grant unto them the said Sir Ed. Hungerford, Sir John Robinson Sir Ro: Vyner Sir Peter Colleton James Hayes and John Kirke their Heirs and Assignes of the sole Trade and Comers of all those Seas, streights and Bayes in America within the Capes comonly called Cape Carroll lying in 59 Degrees Northerne Latitude and Cape Chidley lying in 61 deg 30 Min or thereabouts (w^{ch} seas streights and Bayes are comonly knowne by the names of Fretum Davis and Baffins Bay Fretum Hudson & Hudsons Bay and the Sole Trade and Comers

of all Havens Bayes Creeks Rivers Lakes, & Seas into w^{ch} they shall find entrance or passage by water or Land out of the Seas Bayes Frets abovementioned, together with the sole Trade and comerce wth the Christianoats Nadouseranohs and all other Nations inhabiting the Coasts adjacent to the Seas Bayes, Frets, Creeks, Havens Lakes and Rivers aboves^d. And alsoe all the Lands and Territories adjacent, with all Mines and Minerals that shall bee found in any of the said Territories and all the Royall Fishing and other fishing that shall be found in any of the waters abovesaid. To have and to hold all and singular the P^rmisses unto them the said Sir E. H. Sir J. R. Sir R. V. Sir P. C. J. H. J. K. their heirs and Assignes for ever in free and comon socage as of Our Mannor of East Greenwich under y^e yearly Rent of [*blank in MS*] payable into the Exchequer of Us Our Heirs and Successors and reserving unto us Our Heirs and Successors all requisite powers and Royalties for raising of Forts or otherwise to comand and defend such passage or passages into the South sea as shall bee hereafter found by the foresaid Grantees or any of them and with all other such Covenants Restrictions provisoes Nonabstantes and clauses as are usuall in Grants of like nature and as you shall think fit convenient and requisite in this Our Royal Grant as well for our Own Interest as y^t of the said Grantees And for soe doeing &c
June 23th [*sic*] 1669

By his Ma^{ties} Comand

J TREVOR

GRANT OF THE TRADE AND TERRITORIES OF HUDSONS BAY TO
SIR ED. HUNGERFORD, &c.¹³

[State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, Entry Book 44/25, folios 128-129,
Public Record Office.]

Whereas Our Trusty and Welbeloved Sir Edward Hungerford Bar^t Sir John Robinson and Sir Robert Vyner Kn^{ts} and Bar^{ts} Sir Peter Colleton Bar^t James Hayes and John Kirke Esq^{rs} have at their

¹³ It will be noted that the personnel of the grantees of this warrant in both its forms is different from that of the two succeeding documents that resulted, finally, in the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company. The second of these, the charter of May 2, 1670, is too well known to need description here. The original is in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. An earlier instrument of incorporation does not appear to be known by historians of the company. It is dated April 18, 1670, and is entitled "An Incorporacion of Prince Rupert, Duke of

owne great cost and charge formerly undertaken an Expedition for Hudsons Bay for the discovery of a new passage unto the South Sea and alsoe for the finding some Trade for Furrs Mineralls and other considerable comodities and by such their undertaking have made such discoveries as doe encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said Designe; By meanes whereof there may probably hereafter arise very great advantage to Us and Our Kingdome; and Whereas the said Undertakers for their further encouragement in the said Designe have humbly besought Us to grant unto them their Heirs and Assignes the Sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas Streights and Bayes, Rivers Lakes Creeks and Sounds in whatsoever Latitude they shall lye that lye within the entrance of the Streights comonly called Hudsons Streights together with all the Lands Countries and Territories upon the Coasts and Confines of the Seas Streights Bayes Lakes Rivers Creeks and sounds afores^d which are not now actually possessed by any of Our Subjects or by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State Wee are graciously pleased to condescend unto that Request; And it is Our will and pleasure that you prepare a Bill for Our Royall Signature to passe Our Great Seale containing such Our Grant unto them the said Sir Ed. Hungerford Sir John Robinson Sir Robert Vyner Sir Peter Colleton James Hayes & John Kirke their Heirs and Assignes of the sole Trade and Commerce of all the Seas, Streights & Bays Lands Rivers Lakes Creeks and Sounds Countries and Territories that lye within Hudsons Streights or Hudsons Bay in what Latitude soever they shall lye together wth all Lands and Territories upon the Countries and Confines of the

Albemarle, Earl of Craven, Lord Arlington, Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Collston, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Paule Neile, Sir John Griffith, Sir Phillip Carteret, James Hayes, John Kirke, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Fenne, John Portman, into one body politique by the name of Governours and Adventurers trading to Hudsons baye" and grants "them and their successors all the lands and the sole trade into the seas and creekes, lying within the entrance of Hudson Streights." This item in Sir Edward Dering's "Privy Seal Docquet-Book" is listed in *The Manuscripts of J. Eliot Hodgkin, Esq. F.S.A., of Richmond, Surrey*, 11 (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, part 2—London, 1897). The success of Groseilliers' venture, with Captain Gillam's aid, seems to have made the new enterprise popular once more. The men who had sent out the first ships, and who, then, had withdrawn, probably discouraged at the "Eaglet's" fate, now re-entered the company along with a number of new members.

Seas Bayes Lakes Rivers Creeks and sounds aforesaid that are not already actually possessed by any of Our Subjects or by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State; And of the Sole Trade and Commerce with all Nations inhabiting the Lands and Territories aforesaid wth all Mines and Mineralls that shall bee found in any the Waters aforesaid To have and to hold all and singular the premises unto the said Sir Ed Hungerford Sir John Robinson Sir Robert Vyrer Sir Peter Colleton James Hayes and John Kirke their Heirs and Assignes for ever in Free and Comon Soccage as of Our Mannor of East Greenwich under the yearly Rent of Two Elks and Two Black Beavers whensoever and as often as Wee Our Heirs and Successors shall happen to enter into the said Countries Territories and Regions hereby Granted with all Requisite and necessary powers and authority Covenants Restrictions Provisoes Nonobstantes and Clauses as are fit and usuall in Grants of like Nature as well for Our owne Interest as for that of the said Grantees. And for soe doing &c
21th day of Oct. 1669

By his Ma^{ties} Comand

J TREVOR

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC IN MINNESOTA, 1866-80

Most of the Minnesota regiments that served in the Civil War had been disbanded for less than a year when, on August 1, 1866, the Grand Army of the Republic, newly founded society for honorably discharged Union soldiers and sailors, established a department in Minnesota. Looking at the subject from the vantage point of later days, and having in mind both the later history of the Grand Army and the early history of the American Legion, one might be inclined to say that conditions in 1866 were very favorable for the success in Minnesota of the newly established veterans' organization.¹

The state census of 1865 credited Minnesota with a population of a quarter of a million. By December, 1865, nearly eleven thousand officers and enlisted men had been returned to private life, upon the disbandment of the Minnesota volunteer units. More than thirteen hundred were left in military service, but their units, too, were mustered out before the end of May, 1866. Many veterans from other states might well be expected to make their homes in Minnesota, where an abundance of cheap, fertile land and the business and professional opportunities of new and growing communities beckoned to young men ambitious to better themselves economically. Surely there was plenty of material from which the membership of the veterans' society might be drawn.²

¹ Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Minnesota, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-Annual Encampments, 1866-79*, p. 5 (Minneapolis, 1896). This volume was printed, with insignificant omissions and alterations, from a large manuscript volume of minutes, now among the papers of the Grand Army. This collection and all other manuscripts cited in this paper are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

² Minnesota, *Executive Documents, 1865*, p. 446; Adjutant General, *Annual Reports, 1865*, Schedule C, p. 40.

Yet the Grand Army of the Republic was not firmly established in Minnesota for many years after the initial meeting of August 1, 1866. Not until 1883 did the membership of the department exceed a thousand. The total rose from 176 in 1870 to a high figure of 614 in January, 1873, only to decline to a paltry 170 in 1880, when, according to the national organization, the department of Minnesota ceased to exist and was replaced by a new provisional organization. This rather pitiful record was made in a state with a population of 439,706 in 1870, 597,407 in 1875, and 780,773 in 1880.³

It is of course true that the Grand Army hardly attained more than a foothold in other parts of the United States prior to 1880. The organization had few precedents to follow. For some years it could not rely on sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of maintaining its national headquarters. Its rules, its ritual, its policies, and its practices had all to be worked out and tried out. Some of the changes that were made during its first decade undoubtedly had the effect of slowing up, temporarily at least, the growth of the society. In December, 1880, the adjutant general was able to report a total national membership of sixty thousand, nearly twice the average annual figure for the seventies; and in 1890 the Grand Army reached its high tide, with a reported membership of over four hundred thousand.⁴

The Grand Army of the Republic was divided into departments, with jurisdictions generally coterminous with those of the states or territories for which they were named. The local units, each of which was subordinate to the department in which it was located, were known as posts. Among the post officers were the commander, the senior and junior vice-commanders, the adjutant, whose duties

³ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 44, 94, 178.

⁴ *Grand Army of the Republic, Proceedings of the National Encampment*, 1866-76, p. 35-49; 1893, p. 64; 1896, p. 81; *Journal of the Twenty-fifth National Encampment*, 1891, p. 69.

were those of a secretary, and the quartermaster, who served as treasurer. The adjutant, like other officers, was at first elected, but after 1871 he was appointed each year by the post commander. The department officers, past department commanders, the commanders and past commanders of the several posts, and one or more elected delegates from each post met annually or semiannually for department encampments. At the midwinter encampments of the department of Minnesota, a commander and other officers were elected for the following year.

The relations of the national encampment with the departments were similar to those of the department encampments with the posts. The head of the national organization bore the title of commander in chief. The national secretary was known as the adjutant general, and the equivalent department officer was termed the assistant adjutant general. During the first year or two of the Grand Army, county organizations known as districts also were maintained, at least on paper. The districts, however, soon disappeared.⁵

The activities of the Grand Army of the Republic in Minnesota prior to 1880 were in large measure merely the activities of the local posts. The organization was, of course, a secret one, and the candidate whose application had been favorably received by a post was "mustered" in a manner prescribed by the ritual of the order. For two years, from 1869 to 1871, there were three grades or degrees of membership, known as recruit, soldier, and veteran. The ritual was revised in 1871, when the grade system was abolished; and a short time later another revision became necessary when copies of the secret cipher and key, lost by certain officers in Maryland, appeared in print.⁶

⁵ Grand Army of the Republic, National Encampment, *Rules and Regulations*, 1868, 1869, 1872; Department of Minnesota, *Constitution* (St. Paul, 1866).

⁶ *Proceedings of the National Encampment*, 1866-76, p. 19, 64-67, 83, 114, 138, 152; Headquarters, *General Orders*, no. 14, December 26, 1871, in Grand Army of the Republic Papers.

Between 1866 and 1880 some forty-one posts were organized in Minnesota. They existed for periods varying in length from a few months to several years, but none was active throughout the thirteen years. At no one time, moreover, were there more than nineteen posts in good standing. The number was usually less. The last of the forty-one posts was mustered on January 14, 1876, at Cottage Grove, though its meeting place was later transferred to Newport. It was one of the eight posts represented at the encampment held in Minneapolis late in January, 1876, when eleven posts were reported in good standing.⁷

The first place on the roll of posts, when consecutive numbers were assigned in 1867, was accorded to that at Wabasha. Its first commander, elected in October, 1866, was the second commander of the department. This was Frank E. Daggett, a portly newspaper editor and minor politician, whose avoirdupois and good nature were all but proverbial among his brother editors, whether "radical" like himself, or "Copperhead," as a Republican editor of the period was likely to term his Democratic contemporaries. In spite of Daggett's vigorous pen and personality, however, the Wabasha post seems not to have endured beyond 1868 or 1869. Daggett left Wabasha in 1870, and turned up at Litchfield in 1872 as part owner and editor of the *Litchfield News-Ledger*. In 1874 Edward Branham post number 37 came into being, with Daggett as its first commander.⁸ This organization lasted long enough to turn

⁷ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 137, 178; Phil Sheridan post, Minutes, in Grand Army of the Republic Papers. The total of forty-one posts does not include some that were established in 1866 but were not active after the end of that year or the early part of 1867. See *Proceedings of the National Encampment*, 1866-76, p. 42. For a post to maintain itself in good standing after 1870, it was required to make a quarterly report to the department headquarters and to pay a tax of ten cents a quarter for each member not suspended or expelled.

⁸ *Wabasha Herald*, October 4, 18, December 27, 1866; January 31, March 14, 21, June 20, 27, July 11, August 22, September 12, 1867; February 20, May 21, June 18, 1868; October 13, 1870; *Litchfield News-Ledger*, June 25, August 13, October 15, 1874; October 19, 1876.

out in uniform at its founder's funeral in October, 1876, but even at that time it was not recognized by the department headquarters as a post in good standing.

Some other posts were active for such short periods that they are hardly worth mentioning. In this category were numbers 7 at Rockford, 9 at Warsaw, 14 at Read's Landing, 17 at Waseca, 18 at Dayton, 19 at Monticello, and 20 at St. Charles, all of which were chartered prior to 1870. Several posts established in 1871 and 1872 existed for very brief periods; they include those at Princeton, Fairmont, Le Sueur, Chaska, and Taylor's Falls. Some posts that passed through periods of inactivity were revived, only to decline again. Post number 2 of Osseo is a case in point. Post number 10, with headquarters at Morristown, is another. At Jackson, a revival of post number 28 in 1875 was little more successful than an initial organization in 1872. The Faribault post "went down" at least three times before its name and number finally disappeared from the roster in 1875. On the other hand, the Stillwater post succeeded in establishing a permanent organization in 1875, after the failure of two earlier efforts, the first in 1868, and the second in 1872. Posts in such middle-sized towns as Winona, Rochester, Owatonna, Faribault, Northfield, and Duluth endured long enough to entertain annual or semi-annual department encampments, and those at Rochester and Winona furnished department commanders.⁹

Posts near the frontier of settlement sometimes were more vigorous than those in older, larger communities. That at Detroit in Becker County was far removed from all others. Yet it maintained itself with an average membership of about twenty-five from its establishment in February, 1872, when the settlement was not a year old, certainly

⁹ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 33, 37, 40, 42, 50, 63, 70, 84, 91, 94, 97, 107, 120, 133, 138, 149; *Wabasha Herald*, June 18, 1868; *Stillwater Republican*, March 18, 1868; *Stillwater Messenger*, April 2, 9, 1875; Joseph C. Mold to Henry A. Castle, March 18, 1890; January 14, 1891, Castle Papers.

until 1878; and it was one of five posts that claimed to have survived the hiatus of 1880. The unusual activity of this post may perhaps be explained by the fact that Detroit and the surrounding country were settled largely under the auspices of the New England Colony and Bureau of Migration, an organization which had for its purpose the colonization of veterans in the West. Its leader was Colonel George H. Johnston, who himself removed from Boston to Detroit. He was not only a promoter of colonization, but an active worker in the Baptist church, the Masonic Order, the Republican party, and the Grand Army of the Republic. He served as commander of the department of Minnesota in 1876.¹⁰

When the grasshopper horde settled down on southwestern Minnesota in the summer of 1873, there was only one active Grand Army post in the afflicted area. This was Stoddard post number 34, which had been established the year before, almost at the birth of the village of Worthington, its headquarters. It reported a membership of 43 at the beginning of 1873. A year later the total was down to 34. At the annual encampments of 1875 and 1876, however, Stoddard post, with rosters of 102 and 127 members respectively, was the largest in the jurisdiction. Such a record by a post centering in a village of not more than five hundred inhabitants may be worthy of some special consideration. Even the 55 members reported in July, 1877, would seem a very respectable total for a post so located.¹¹

In May, 1874, the pioneers of Nobles County were much exercised about a species of claim jumping then in vogue.

¹⁰ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 81, 96, 121, 133, 149, 152; *Weekly Record* (Detroit), July 13, 27, November 23, 30, December 21, 1872; January 4, 18, February 8, 15, 22, March 8, 1873; June 6, 1874; *Proceedings of the National Encampment*, 1893, p. 273-276. Other posts that claimed to have maintained their organization through 1879 and 1880 were those at Stillwater, Elk River, St. Paul, and Shakopee.

¹¹ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 96, 121, 133, 149, 152; *Western Advance* (Worthington), March 14, August 22, 1874; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 3: 97-110 (St. Paul, 1926).

An unusually large number of homesteaders absented themselves from their claims as a result of the devastation wrought by the grasshoppers in 1873. The would-be claim jumpers were filing charges of abandonment against such absentees at the Worthington land office, and it seemed probable that many homesteads would revert to the government and become again available for entry, presumably by the informers. Such conduct was in great disfavor, and Stoddard post took steps to protect its members by sending a committee to wait upon such contestants. As this was only nine years after the close of the Civil War, it may be assumed that the post was able to send a committee whose members were physically able to make verbal argument sufficient for their purposes. With the post performing the functions of a claim protection association, it is not difficult to see why additional recruits were secured in 1874.¹²

Another factor that influenced its growth was no doubt the part which the post played in obtaining direct relief for the grasshopper sufferers. At the semiannual encampment held at Shakopee on July 21, 1874, Dr. R. D. Barber and J. A. Town of post number 34 were present to report on the ravages suffered during that and the previous year in southwestern Minnesota. The encampment voted to remit the dues of Stoddard post for the next six months and authorized the department commander, Captain Henry A. Castle of St. Paul, to report the situation to the commander in chief of the Grand Army. This was done, and on August 15, 1874, the head of the national organization issued a circular urging all posts throughout the country to make contributions from their own means and to interest citizens outside the order in the good work of relieving distress in Minnesota. The circular indicated that the bounty could be effectively distributed by the vigorous post at Worthington. Many contributions were made and handled in this

¹² *Western Advance*, May 9, 1874.

way. The Minneapolis post sent fifty dollars. Acker post of St. Paul sent a quantity of clothing that had been worn by actors in a recent dramatic venture. To this were added gifts of clothing and shoes from the post as a whole, individual members, and other citizens.¹³

At the regular annual encampment held on January 27, 1875, ex-Governor Stephen Miller, speaking for the Worthington post, described the need for seed wheat in the distressed area. A committee was appointed to ascertain what arrangements could be made with elevator proprietors for the storage and shipment of grain, and members voted to remit the dues of posts in the grasshopper region for the first half of 1875. This concession took care, in addition to Stoddard post, of the newly organized post at Windom, which had received aid from Acker post in December, 1874. A fortnight after the encampment, a delegation from Worthington mustered a new post at the neighboring village of Hersey, now Brewster. Still another post within the grasshopper region was chartered in 1875 at Luverne. The post at Jackson, first established in 1872, was revived in time to send a delegate to the July encampment at Worthington.¹⁴

Naturally enough the posts at Minneapolis and St. Paul occupied an influential place in the counsels of the department organization. George N. Morgan post number 3 was organized at Minneapolis early in September, 1866, although post numbers were not assigned until a year later. The annual encampments of 1867, 1868, 1870, 1874, and 1876 were held at Minneapolis, and two of the department commanders, Henry G. Hicks in 1868, and D. W. Albaugh in 1875, were members of Morgan post. Its career, never-

¹³ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 129; *Worthington Advance*, December 11, 1874; January 8, 1875; Headquarters, *Circular*, no. 1, August 15, 1874; Acker post, Minutes, 2: 166-169. The two latter items are in the Grand Army of the Republic Papers.

¹⁴ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 133-135, 138; Acker post, Minutes, 2: 168, 171-174; *Worthington Advance*, February 19, July 2, 23, 1875.

theless, was not one of unbroken prosperity. In January, 1873, the commander reported to the department inspecting officer that he had been unable to obtain a quorum since July, 1872, although the post numbered forty-eight members in good standing. Yet in 1875 seventy-seven members were reported; in 1876, eighty. By January, 1878, however, only thirty-six veterans remained on the active roll.¹⁵

After the failure of a first effort in 1866, St. Paul waited until 1870 before a successful post was established in the capital city. Acker post, which came into existence in April, 1870, was the twenty-first in the department, but during the next seven years it was one of the most active posts in the state. Despite the fact that many members were suspended or dropped for nonpayment of dues, which for Acker post were two dollars a year, the roster of 43 members at the end of the first quarter of its existence rose gradually to a high point of 105, reported as of March 31, 1875. The actual attendance at meetings was, however, by no means so large as this, even on the occasion of the annual election of officers. The post early found it difficult to compel regular attendance on the part of its officers, and in the summer of 1871 it adopted a rule vacating any office whose incumbent should absent himself from three regular meetings in succession. There were numerous occasions when vacancies of this character necessitated elections.¹⁶

On May 30, 1870, Acker post conducted the first celebration of Decoration Day in St. Paul. This holiday of

¹⁵ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 8, 11, 15, 40, 97, 133, 138, 149, 152; *Minneapolis Daily Chronicle*, September 24, October 5, 1866; January 30, February 22, March 17, 26, 30, 1867.

¹⁶ The primary source for the history of Acker post from 1870 to 1877 is two volumes of manuscript minutes, which are preserved in the Grand Army of the Republic Papers. These volumes are supplemented by copies of the post adjutant's quarterly reports, in the same collection. One of the charter members of the post, Josiah B. Chaney, drew upon these materials as well as on his personal recollections for his *History of Acker Post* (St. Paul, 1891). See also Chaney Diary, August 8, 15, 17, 29, 1866, Chaney Papers.

the Civil War veteran had been initiated by the Grand Army of the Republic, in accordance with the instructions given by its commander in chief, General John A. Logan, in the spring of 1868. Inspired by such instructions, repeated yearly by national and departmental officers, Acker and other Minnesota posts made customary the practice of solemnly decorating the graves of soldiers who were buried in local cemeteries. The planning and execution of these ceremonies was considered one of the major activities of each active post. The program of the day usually included prayers, an oration, the decoration of the graves of Union veterans buried in local cemeteries, and the decoration of a cross in honor of those whose remains rested in southern graves.¹⁷

In harmony with the teachings of the Grand Army motto, "Fraternity, Charity, and Loyalty," Acker post was particularly diligent in its charitable work. Money was voted to provide watchers at the bedside of a sick comrade, to furnish temporary doles to the widows of soldiers, to pay the funeral expenses of a deceased veteran, to bring an ailing and penniless member back to St. Paul from Denver. On one occasion when a veteran sought employment through the good offices of the post, money was appropriated to buy six brooms with which to send him forth to earn his living.

Partly as a means of entertaining members and friends, but more particularly to raise money for relief funds, Acker post promoted a series of dances, excursions, lectures, and other entertainments. A number of dramatic ventures were attempted, in which members and their friends of the other sex formed the larger part of the cast. The financial returns from the first few excursions into the field of the drama were eminently satisfactory. Then the post's luck changed, and a series of failures followed. These failures

¹⁷Acker post, Minutes, 1: 29-36, 2: 38, 88-94, 199; Chaney Diary, June 2, 1878; *St. Paul Pioneer*, June 3, 1868; May 13, 1870.

and an expensive lawsuit arising out of dramatic activities saddled the organization with a debt, which in 1877 compelled it to give up its regular meeting hall and sell some of the furniture.¹⁸

Although a handful of members attempted to meet the technical requirements of continuity by paying their per capita dues to the department quartermaster general, Acker post can hardly be said to have been active between April 23, 1877, and July 15, 1881. The former date is that of the last meeting recorded in the large volume of minutes kept by the post adjutant. The latter is the date of a meeting at which the first serious steps toward reorganization were taken.¹⁹

With the larger posts losing ground, year by year, the annual department encampments of 1877, 1878, and 1879 must have been rather discouraging affairs. In 1877 a loss of 138 members during the preceding years was reported. This reduced the roster of the department to fourteen posts, with 445 members. A year later, the assistant adjutant general reported a further drop to eleven posts and 377 members. The losses were explained by the inability of members to pay dues. In both 1877 and 1878, encampments were held at Stillwater. That of 1879 took place at Shakopee, with delegates and officers present from only two posts, number 14 of Stillwater, and number 31, the entertaining post. The department commander, William Willson, stated that he could not tell how many posts were in good standing, since he had not received reports from the

¹⁸ *Proceedings of the National Encampment, 1866-76*, p. 64, 76; Acker post, Minutes, 1: 55, 62, 69, 72, 100, 2: 18-25, 35, 107, 166, 212, 217, 243-253. While Acker post was perhaps more ambitious in its financial ventures than most posts, there is abundant evidence that others used similar methods to obtain money for relief funds.

¹⁹ Henry A. Castle to Chaney, July 5, 1893, Chaney Papers; Chaney to Castle, July 6, 1893; in *Proceedings of the National Encampment, 1893*, p. 273; Acker post, Minutes, 2:253; Minutes of reorganization meeting, July 15, 1881, and J. J. McCarty to Adam Marty, August 30, 1881, Grand Army of the Republic Papers.

assistant adjutant general and assistant quartermaster general. He admitted, however, that the department was sadly disorganized. C. A. Bennett, one of the Stillwater delegates, who was elected commander, seemed willing to see the department organization die on his hands. At any rate, no reports or payments were made to national headquarters in 1879. Furthermore, Bennett failed to call the annual encampment which should have convened in January or February, 1880. Throughout these months, however, Muller post number 14 of Stillwater remained active. Finally, in the spring of 1880, its commander, Adam Marty, took the steps which resulted in the reorganization of the defunct department, with Muller post as number 1 and Marty himself as provisional department commander.²⁰

During the years between the first organization of the department in 1866 and the establishment of the provisional organization in 1880 the Grand Army in Minnesota elected eleven men as department commanders. With the exception of the first, General John B. Sanborn, and the fourth, General J. W. Sprague of Winona, none had achieved high military rank during the Civil War, although most, if not all, had been commissioned officers. Most of them were young men in their thirties when they were elected to head the department.

The department made a rather poor beginning under General Sanborn. After being chosen temporary commander at the initial meeting of August 1, 1866, he was elected on a more permanent basis at the first department encampment on October 16. Shortly thereafter he was appointed one of the federal commissioners to negotiate with the Indians of the plains, an appointment that necessitated

²⁰ Department of Minnesota, Minutes, p. 130; *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 151-160, 175; *Stillwater Messenger*, May 31, 1879; July 10, 1880; Grand Army of the Republic, *Journal of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the National Encampment*, 1881, p. 743; *Proceedings of the National Encampment*, 1893, p. 270, 276.

his absence from Minnesota, and as no officers had been elected with the right or duty of succession, his administration can hardly be considered effective. As a result of Sanborn's failure to report to the national headquarters of the infant order, Frank E. Daggett of Wabasha was authorized by the commander in chief to call a convention for August 14, 1867, to organize more effectively. Following the advice of Colonel B. F. Stephenson, founder and adjutant general of the Grand Army, to select "young, ardent, intelligent men, whom you are assured are endowed with energy and zeal," the convention elected Daggett, then only twenty-eight years of age, as department commander.²¹

Daggett's successor, chosen at an encampment held at Minneapolis in January, 1868, was Henry G. Hicks, sheriff of Hennepin County. Hicks was later admitted to the bar, and was judge of the district court from 1887 to 1895. From 1867 until the end of his life he was an active worker in the Grand Army of the Republic and a more or less active member of the Republican party. Other department commanders who held public office at the time of their election were D. W. Albaugh, clerk of the Hennepin County district court, and C. A. Bennett, clerk of the court in Washington County.²²

General J. W. Sprague, a man of middle age who was elected commander at the Winona encampment of 1869, was general manager of the Winona and St. Peter Railroad. In the same year he reported the second largest taxable income in Winona County. General Sprague's administration of Grand Army affairs was not particularly significant, though during the year a lobbying committee appointed at the encampment persuaded the legislature to

²¹ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 6-14; Henry W. Childs, "The Life and Work of General Sanborn," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 850; *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, July 9, 1867; January 9, 1869; *Wabasha Herald*, July 25, August 8, 1867.

²² *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 16, 135, 159; *Minneapolis City Directory*, 1875, p. 52 (Minneapolis, 1875).

establish a home for orphans of Minnesota soldiers who had lost their lives during the Civil War, or who had since died from disease or wounds contracted in service. Shortly after the election of his successor, Major John C. Hamilton, in January, 1870, Sprague removed to Tacoma, Washington.²³

The most vigorous of the department commanders during the period here under consideration was no doubt Captain Henry A. Castle, who joined the Grand Army of the Republic at Quincy, Illinois, soon after its organization. He transferred his membership to Minnesota when he removed to St. Cloud in 1867. In 1870 he founded Acker post at St. Paul. At the Rochester encampment of January, 1871, he was elected senior vice-commander of the department. He held the office of commander, to which he was promoted a year later, for three full years, a record, certainly, for Minnesota. Castle may be remembered for a long list of activities and interests. He was editor of the *Anoka Union* and the *St. Paul Dispatch*, a hardware merchant and lawyer, secretary and chairman of the Republican state central committee at various times during the eighties, postmaster of St. Paul in the nineties, a responsible federal official in Washington for several years before and after 1900, and the compiler of a fat three-volume history of Minnesota. It is not at all impossible, however, that he would prefer to be remembered as an aggressive leader of the Grand Army of the Republic, not only during the years when he served as department commander, but almost steadily thereafter until his death in 1916.²⁴

The more important department encampments, held ordinarily in January, were usually two-day affairs. In addition to attending business sessions, the delegates and other

²³ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 23, 180-185; *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, January 19, May 11, 1869; May 8, 1870.

²⁴ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 53-136; Gideon S. Ives, "Captain Henry Castle," *ante*, 2: 3-6.

guests were usually entertained at a banquet or "camp fire," or both. On such occasions, they sang war songs, made speeches, presented dramatic readings, and drank toasts. The program sometimes was followed by dancing. The semiannual encampments, which occurred commonly in July, partook more of the character of outings than did the mid-winter meetings. In 1873 the summer sessions were held at Duluth. The meeting of July, 1874, which was held at Shakopee, furnished an opportunity for a steamboat excursion by the St. Paul comrades. In 1876 and 1877 the delegates had a chance to enjoy the water sports at White Bear Lake, and on July 4, 1878, they met at Lake Minnetonka.²⁵

During its early stages the Grand Army of the Republic encountered considerable opposition. Democratic editors declared that it was simply a tool of the radical Republicans, and attacked it accordingly. Horace Greeley, who claimed that it would tend to preserve wartime and postwar hatreds and exercise the power of nominating candidates for office, joined in the attack. Greeley's warning was heard in Minnesota, as elsewhere. The vigorous reply made by Frank E. Daggett of the *Wabasha Herald* in his issue of July 18, 1867, may have been one of the reasons for his selection as department commander in the following month. In February, 1868, the *St. Paul Pioneer*, leading Democratic sheet of Minnesota, gave much attention to the probability that General John A. Logan might make military use of the Grand Army to back Congress in driving President Johnson from office. In the presidential campaign of the same year, Democratic veterans were urged to withdraw from an organization whose purpose was no doubt fundamentally that of promoting the fortunes of the hated "radicals."²⁶

²⁵ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 55, 77, 125, 130, 135, 146-150, 154-157; Acker post, Minutes, 2: 157, 238.

²⁶ *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, November 24, 1866; March 24, 1867; February 25, 27, 29, May 15, 1868; April 24, 1870.

That there was truth in the charges of political activity is shown by a revealing and critical report, dated May 10, 1871, and signed by Dr. William T. Collins, national adjutant general and ex-senior vice-commander of the department of Minnesota. His remarks about Minnesota follow:

The Department of Minnesota was organized in December [*sic*] 1866, and in a few months thereafter embraced some 25 Posts. As in others, the organization in this Department has been injured by efforts to use its strength for political purposes. A reorganization of the Department was effected in 1867. The Department is now small but effective and loyal to the noble objects of the order.²⁷

Collins apparently meant to say that by 1871 the Grand Army in Minnesota had been purged of political racketeers. As early as 1869 the leaders of the department were sensitive to the charge that the Grand Army was a political organization. At that time the department, after some debate, adopted and published the following resolution:

WHEREAS, There exists in the minds of many worthy soldiers and sailors an impression that the Grand Army of the Republic is a political organization, therefore, be it

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Encampment the purposes of the organization would be entirely defeated by the introduction of political controversies, and that we are unequivocally opposed to allowing any consideration of party politics in the deliberations of our Order, and our delegates to the National Grand Encampment are hereby instructed to exert themselves to establish non-interference with politics as the settled and permanent policy of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Apparently it was for the purpose of demonstrating their political neutrality in unmistakable terms that the Taylor's Falls and Stillwater posts omitted their meetings during the political campaign of 1872.²⁸

It is certainly true that prominent members of both political parties were active in Grand Army affairs and that Grand Army leaders as individuals were active in politics.

²⁷ *Proceedings of the National Encampment, 1866-76*, p. 118.

²⁸ *Proceedings, 1866-79*, p. 22, 97.

The charter roll of Acker post included such Republican politicians as Castle, Mark D. Flower, and a future governor, Andrew R. McGill. On the other hand, a prominent Democratic leader, James George of Rochester, one-time colonel of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, served as adjutant general of the department in 1871. In responding to a toast at a banquet given during the summer encampment of 1871, Colonel George proclaimed himself a Democrat of the strictest school and an equally loyal member of the Grand Army. He denounced as an ignorant knave anyone who claimed that the Grand Army had political bias.²⁹

As a matter of fact, the organization in Minnesota prior to 1883 was hardly strong enough to exert much political influence, nor was it vigorous enough to be used profitably by the leaders of either party. Of course department encampments now and again memorialized the legislature or Congress regarding pensions, bounties, relief of soldiers' orphans, and other matters of special interest to veterans of the period. With the exception, however, of the legislation relating to soldiers' orphans secured by a bit of clever maneuvering in 1869, and of some later appropriations for the same object, it would be difficult to show any striking results of political activity.³⁰

The Grand Army of the Republic did not wield much influence in Minnesota prior to 1880. It failed to attract into its ranks more than a fraction of the veterans of the Civil War who resided in the state. Serious difficulties were encountered in maintaining permanent local branches of the organization, even in the larger cities—St. Paul, Minneapolis, Winona, and Stillwater. Posts were estab-

²⁹ See Castle's address at the January, 1871, encampment, in *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 58, 67. It is no doubt true that a majority of the individual members of the Grand Army were Republicans.

³⁰ *Proceedings*, 1866-79, p. 16, 23, 46, 54, 72, 81, 104, 125, 139, 153, 180.

lished, however, in communities of all types and sizes, and in some cases special local conditions gave posts situated in frontier villages strength quite out of proportion to the size of the communities. Locally, no doubt, the posts filled a certain social need, and they ceased to exist when the need seemed less pressing to the men eligible for participation. At the department encampments veterans from various parts of the state learned to know one another, and they established personal associations that in some cases served as a basis for later political co-operation.³¹

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³¹ Evidence to substantiate this statement is to be found in almost every one of the numerous boxes of Castle Papers.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A TYPEWRITTEN LETTER OF 1846

The Martin County Historical Society has recently acquired a valuable and interesting addition to its collection in the form of a typewritten letter, dated in 1846. The reader will see nothing unusual in the above statement unless he happens to know that the first successful typewriter was not invented until 1868 and was not manufactured and put on the market until 1873. In fact, its use was negligible until 1882. The inventors were C. Latham Sholes and Carlos Glidden. Yet here is a letter typewritten in 1846. How can that be?

Here is the explanation. The letter is dated January 28, 1846, at Norwich (presumably Norwich, Connecticut), is addressed to Miss Sarah Wheelock, Shewsbury, Massachusetts, and is signed by Charles Thurber, the signature being typewritten. Miss Wheelock later married Samuel B. Carpenter, and with her husband came, in June, 1856, to the vicinity of Kasota, Le Sueur County, Minnesota Territory. In August, 1856, their son, Charles Wheelock Carpenter, was born—a territorial baby. Upon the death of his parents, the younger Carpenter came into possession of this and other old letters and documents, which he carefully kept.

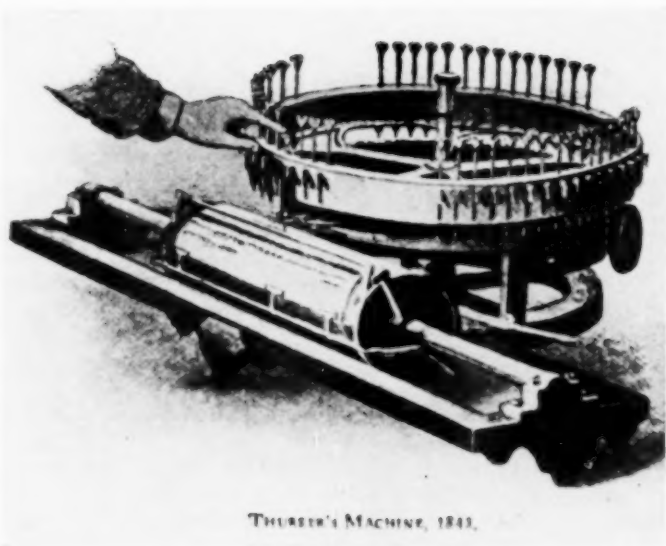
Mr. Carpenter, now in his eightieth year, a resident of Ontario, California, spent the major portion of his life in Le Sueur and Nicollet counties, and a short period in Martin County, Minnesota. His granddaughter, Miss Jean Zierke, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. R. H. Zierke of Fairmont, being interested in stamp collecting, wrote to her grandfather for some of his old letters, in the hope of securing old stamps. The writer was shown the old letters and noticed that the Thurber-Wheelock letter was dated 1846 and was type-

written. Although it had been frequently scanned, it seems that no one before had noted anything unusual about the letter or its date. How the writer came to do so remains unanswered and unexplained. It was one of those things which just happen.

So far as is known, the letter was not preserved because it was typewritten. Mrs. Carpenter saved many other letters and documents of that and other periods. She had handed down to her and saved a Massachusetts newspaper giving an account of the battle of Lexington and Concord in 1775. This paper was recently donated to the Minnesota Historical Society by her son. The preservation of all these papers probably was prompted by the New England characteristic to destroy as little as possible. It may be truthfully said of the New Englander that he has few spells of "burning up a lot of old trash."

In an effort to learn something of the circumstances of the writing of this letter, the writer corresponded with Remington Rand, Incorporated, successors to E. Remington and Sons, of Ilion, New York, manufacturers of firearms and sewing machines, who manufactured the first typewriter in 1873. That concern could furnish but little information. It did, however, send a pamphlet giving information about early attempts to invent a typewriter, which included an account and an illustration of one invented by Charles Thurber in 1843.

Thurber says: "This letter I write with my new machine. The letters you will notice are not smoothly formed, because the machinery is somewhat imperfect. The machine however operates as well as ever I expected." The characters are all capitals, of ordinary small type size. The paper upon which the letter is written is bluish in color, such as was used generally in the forties and fifties of the last century. The communication was not enclosed in an envelope. Envelopes had not yet come into use. It was folded and sealed lightly with sealing wax. Nor were



THURBER'S MACHINE, 1843.

A TYPEWRITER INVENTED BY CHARLES THURBER, 1843

[From *Outline of Typewriter History*, 6 (Buffalo, New York,
Remington Rand, Inc., n. d.).]

NORWICH

NORWICH JANUARY 28. 1846

MISS. SARAH WHELOCK.

PLEASE COME TO NORWICH AND SEE US.
I HAVE BEEN HIDING AROUND THIS GLORIOUS CITY WITH YOUR FATHER
AND SHOWN HIM ALL ITS WONDERS EXCEPT ITS GROCERIES. THERE
ARE SO MANY OF THIS LATTER COMMODITY THAT I FEARED I SHOULD
NOT BE ABLE TO DO FULL JUSTICE TO OUR EXCELLENT CITY IN
THIS RESPECT AND I FELT BOUND TO SO FAR REGARD THE REPUTATION
OF THIS CITY OF MY ADOPTION AS NOT TO UNDERTAKE TO SHOW ITS
CAPABILITIES IN GIVEN ONE DEPARTMENT AND NOT BE ABLE TO JUSTICE
CAPABILITIES IN ANY GIVEN DEPARTMENT AND NOT BE ABLE TO DO
JUSTICE--IN SOME HUMBLE DEGREE, TO THE EXALTED THEME. WE
WE HAVE A GROCERY OF THE MOST APPROVED CHARACTER AT AL-
MOST EVERY TURN. BUT ENOUGH ABOUT CHOC. ELDER SWAN IS
PREACHING OVER THE WEST SIDE. HE HAS IMPROVED VERY MUCH
SINCE YOU HEARD HIM HOLLER A FEW YEARS AGO. HIS LUNGS ARE
MUCH STRONGER AND HE IS ABLE TO SHOUT WITH MUCH GREATER
EFFICACY AND EFFECT. IT IS THOUGHT BY SOME, THOUGH I AM NOT
AMONG THE NUMBER, THAT WHEN HE SCREAMS WITH HIS FULLEST
VOLUME HE CAN TEND OFF EVERY SHINGLE FROM THE ROOF OF THE
CENTRAL BAPTIST SOCIETY. HORRIBLE TIMES! HE HAS DISCOVERED
THAT MR. CLARK IS A VERY LIAR AND THAT DEAR GROWLEY MUST
GO TO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLEMENCY. BUT SER-
IOUSLY, THO I DOUBT NOT ELDER SWAN HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN
THE CONVERSION OF MANY I YET CANNOT THINK HIS KIND OF EFFORT
HAS IN THE LONG RUN A GOOD BAD EFFECT UPON THE WELFARE OF
RELIGION.

THIS LETTER I WRITE WITH MY NEW MACHINE. THE LETTERS
YOU WILL NOTICE ARE NOT SMOOTHLY FORMED, BECAUSE THE MACHIN-
ERY IS SOMEWHAT IMPERFECT. THE MACHINE HOWEVER OPERATES AS
WELL AS EVER I EXPECTED.

WE ARE WELL JUST ^TTHINK OF THAT. BETTER THAN WE DESERVE.
THEY TALK SOME OF HAVING ELDER SWAN PREACH IN MR.
BOND'S MEETING HOUSE BUT HE CANNOT COME INTO THE BAPTIST HOUSE.
WIFE I SUPPOSE WILL WRITE YOU.

YOURS, TRULY

CHARLES THURBER.

FACSIMILE OF THURBER'S LETTER, 1846

[From the original in the possession of the Martin County Historical Society, Fairmont.]

postage stamps attached. The first United States postage stamps were issued in 1847.

The Thurber typewriting machine never was manufactured or sold. Efforts, thus far, to learn who Charles Thurber was, what he did, and how he came to invent this machine have been unsuccessful. The same is true as to the whereabouts of this quaint old printing device. Information recently obtained from the patent office at Washington, however, shows that Thurber, while residing at Worcester, Massachusetts, on August 26, 1843, was granted a patent for a machine for printing, and that two years later, on November 18, 1845, when he was living at Norwich, Connecticut, he received a patent for a writing machine. The latter also is referred to as a "mechanical chirographer."

The original letter and a picture of the machine are among the exhibits of the Martin County Historical Society. A photostatic copy of the letter has been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society. Those interested will be much pleased if the publication of this article brings further information about Thurber and his early typewriting apparatus.

JULIUS E. HAYCRAFT

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The French Foundations, 1680-1693 (Illinois Historical Collections, vol. 23, French Series, vol. 1). Edited with introduction and notes by THEODORE CALVIN PEASE and RAYMOND C. WERNER. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1934. xiv, 426 p. \$2.50.)

The French occupation of North America has been so little studied, in any thorough-going fashion, for the writing of state histories that a scholarly selection like this is bound to be heartily welcomed. At the start, however, the reader must be cautioned against expecting to find here *all* the French documents that tell the story of the Illinois country from 1680 to 1693. The editors explain in the preface that they are not attempting to offer documents that may be easily found in print. It follows of necessity that the present volume does not tell a complete story. The reviewer, in fact, wonders whether more would not have been gained by printing every available item on the Illinois country, other than books, even at the risk of being thought overindustrious. Margry's work, in which La Salle's documents are chiefly printed, is in French, and so beyond the reach of many Americans; *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, which gives the correspondence of governors, intendants, and others with the court, is available only in English. As often as not a translation is unsatisfactory to the genuine scholar. There was room, therefore, for an unabridged work with French text and English translation on the same page, just as in this volume.

The French text seems to have been copied with the utmost care — a task not always easy to accomplish. Canadian notaries often clung tenaciously to old forms of writing long after the court hand had become as legible for moderns as present-day script. Besides this obstacle the copyist has to face the "hen tracks" of such men as Antoine Adhémar. Much of the present volume is drawn from this notary's *greffe* in Montreal.

The translation is adequate and the annotation usually correct, if a bit meager in spots. A good deal of reliance has been placed by the editor on the census schedules of New France for 1666, 1667,

and 1681. Alas that the age records therein contained should prove to be so unreliable! Readers should be cautioned that little faith can be put in them.

To one statement in the preface the present reviewer must take exception. The editors say on page iii, "Similarly the career of La Salle has been so intimately studied and documented that only on certain phases, — namely those respecting his commercial and financial arrangements, — is there opportunity for any documentary material to shed fresh light." It is true that the books, both of sources and of secondary data, on La Salle's career are legion. Nevertheless, there is needed a biography, or at least a volume of documents relating to his life, which will tell about the origin of his interest in American exploration; the personnel of the court clique that pushed him on to exploration often against his will; the curious sequel of his association with Father Hennepin and its influence on La Salle's later career; the great role in the exploration of North America played by that very Abbé Bernou whom these editors dismiss so easily in less than five lines on page 135; the interlocking designs, formed by certain "shadows" at the French court, for La Salle, Jolliet, Radisson, Groseilliers, Peñalosa, Van Heemskerck, and other explorers; and, most important, the great church kingdom that La Salle was to create for the Recollets in their struggle to dethrone the Jesuits. Surely no one can understand La Salle — nor Illinois history — till the documents relating to these facts have been published.

Since the church kingdom mentioned was to have included what is now Minnesota, it is to be especially regretted, from the standpoint of readers of this magazine, that the pertinent documents were not included. Minnesotans, however, will find much to interest them in the volume as it stands. On page 17 one finds a reference of 1682 to the Nadoussioux or Sioux; and the index refers one to several mentions of Nicolas Perrot and Daniel Greysolon, sieur du Lhut. Perhaps of most interest to Minnesotans are a reference and a footnote on page 265 relating to the later history of one of Father Hennepin's companions on the upper Mississippi, Michel Accault. There one learns that Accault became a permanent settler in Illinois, marrying the daughter of a Kaskaskia chief, who, according to Father Gravier, was responsible for a decided reform in his character. The baptismal record of his infant son is the first entry in the church records

for the Parish of the Immaculate Conception. Of general interest for American and Canadian history are the engagements of voyageurs, to which considerable space is given. Slowly but surely the role of these humble men, who were a mighty force in settling North America, is being comprehended.

Ninety-four pages of the book go to the so-called De Gannes memoir concerning the Illinois country. The editors point out that the author was probably the Sieur Deliette, a nephew of Henri de Tonti. This memoir gives an unusually early and intimate picture of the Illinois country and its aboriginal inhabitants and would, alone, justify the publication of the volume.

GRACE LEE NUTE

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Documents of American History (Crofts American History Series).

Edited by HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, New York University.
(New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1934. xxi, 450, 454 p.
\$4.00.)

The knowledge of America's past held by that somewhat mythological figure, the man on the street, consists, we suspect, of whatever scraps have survived in his memory from grade-school days plus such folklore as may have come his way. To expect that he has read even the most important and accessible documents in American history is to give him credit for an interest and a curiosity of which he is wholly innocent. Even when the man on the street becomes the man on the platform and addresses his fellow countrymen on, let us say, the Constitution of the United States, there is often little evidence that he is familiar with the document itself, let alone other important supporting documentary material. A single volume collection of sources, then, which would be wide enough in its selection and interest to be a valuable addition to the library of the general reader as well as a useful text for college classes does supply a real need. Such a collection is the volume under review.

In the selection of material for such a book one starts, of course, with certain fundamental documents which must be included—charters and constitutions, petitions and declarations, laws and treaties. But this is only a start; from there on, the editor has little to guide

him. From the vast array of source material he must select, in every case, the document which will the most completely throw light on the incident. Difficult as such a selection is in the field of political history, it is infinitely more difficult and perplexing in the wider ranges of economic and social history. Dr. Commager has performed this task with notable success. Sound judgment, skill in selection, and a wide familiarity with the sources have combined to give us the best single volume of its kind that this reviewer has come upon.

It is, of course, impossible in the space allotted to a review to give an adequate idea of the wide range of selection. The reader, however, may be interested in such diverse items as "Dorothea Dix's Memorial" of 1843 on the condition of jails and almshouses; the "Seneca Falls Declaration" of 1848 on woman's rights; the "Trial of Mrs. Douglas" in 1853 for teaching colored children to read; the recommendation of Mayor Fernando Wood that New York City secede in 1861; Pope Leo XIII's "Encyclical Letter" on socialism, 1878; the Altgeld-Cleveland correspondence; "Powell's Report on the Arid Region" of the United States; "U. S. v. Debs"; the W. C. T. U. pledge; the "Social Creed" of the Methodist Episcopal church; and the "Cotton Textile Code." If that old standby, Webster's reply to Hayne on the nature of the federal Constitution is absent, a worthy substitute for such oratory may be found in Vanzetti's reply to Judge Thayer on the nature of Massachusetts' justice.

Out of the 486 separate documents included in the volume, some eighty are excerpts from judicial opinions. Since no less an authority than the present chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has stated that the Constitution is what the judges say it is, this number does not seem excessive. Read in seriatim, they give the general reader a sound notion of the legal foundation of modern industrial America.

Although nearly five hundred documents have been included in a volume of about nine hundred pages, necessitating the use of small type and a double-column page, the text is surprisingly easy to read. Heading each document is a brief historical note, to give the proper setting, and a short bibliography. The index is not adequate.

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Minnesota, the Land of Sky-tinted Waters: A History of the State and Its People. By THEODORE CHRISTIANSON, LL.D., L.H.D. In five volumes. (Chicago and New York, The American Historical Society, Inc., 1935. 530, 539, 654, 652, 672 p. Illustrations.)

In the first two of the five bulky volumes here under review, a native Minnesotan who has played an important role for two decades in the political life of the North Star State reviews its story and brings it down to date. He gives his first volume the subtitle *From Wilderness to Commonwealth* and his second that of *Minnesota Becomes of Age*. The three remaining volumes consist of *Minnesota Biography* and are made up of miscellaneous sketches prepared by a special staff of writers. The publishers are the American Historical Society, whose name should not be confused with that of the American Historical Association.

Like the Minnesota State Planning Board, Mr. Christianson finds his starting point in the view that Minnesota has "come of age." He believes, in fact, that its "adult status" has "induced a desire among its people to know more fully the conditions and events which caused it to become the kind of state it is." He disclaims any purpose of producing a better history than Dr. Folwell's four-volume survey of Minnesota's past, which he describes as a "monumental achievement by a man who not only wrote history but made it." The author seeks to tell the story of Minnesota for the general reader, because he feels that "interest in the annals of the commonwealth has extended beyond the circle of those who have made history a study rather than a pastime." The work is not a research history, but the author has made himself, on the whole, surprisingly familiar with the findings of research in his field and has summed up and condensed his material in a vigorous style, enlivening his summary with crisp and forceful characterizations.

The twenty-two chapters that make up the first volume carry the story from the beginnings to the seventies of the nineteenth century, when "Embattled Farmers" were staging the first fight in the "agrarian crusade." Mr. Christianson opens with a brief summary of the "Physical Foundations" of the state and then tells quickly about "Aboriginal Minnesotans"—the Sioux, Chippewa, and other Indian tribes that occupied portions of what is now Minnesota. The way is

thus paved for a series of chapters on exploration during the French, British, and American periods. Subjects of controversy, such as the Kensington rune stone and the western journeys of Radisson and Groseilliers, are treated with due caution. The author advocates an open mind in reference to the rune stone, points out that the characters inscribed upon it are "believed by some scholars to be genuine runes," but concludes that the stone, even if genuine, "is only a memorial of an isolated and desperate adventure." In dealing with the explorations of Radisson and Groseilliers, he cites scholars who believe that the two Frenchmen discovered the upper Mississippi and also those who, like Folwell and Alvord, have not read this meaning into Radisson's narrative. The author does not lose himself in the intricacies of the Radisson controversy, however. He takes pains to point out something of the larger significance of the work of the two Frenchmen. Unlike Dr. Folwell, who treats the Baron de Lahontan with the "contempt of silence," Mr. Christianson frankly discusses the baron's claims to historical fame, evidences knowledge of Professor Stephen Leacock's study of Lahontan, and, with some reservations, seems to accept the baron's basic claims.

Among other French explorers whose exploits in the upper Northwest are described are Jolliet and Marquette, La Salle, Hennepin, Du Lhut, Perrot, Le Sueur, La Perrière, and La Vérendrye. Additions to geographical knowledge of the Minnesota country made by such traders and explorers as Carver, Alexander Henry and his nephew of the same name, and David Thompson are discussed in a chapter entitled "The Years of British Domination." Although the author does not seem to have used Miss Kellogg's important study of "The Mission of Jonathan Carver," he does not ignore the part played by Robert Rogers in the explorations of Carver and he brings into the story the plan of a journey to the Pacific, though he does not tell of the project for the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Peter Pond is mentioned and the author concludes from one of his maps that he was on the Minnesota River in 1774. That Pond traded in the Minnesota country both in 1773-74 and 1774-75 and that his journal of his experiences in this region has been preserved and published seems not to have come to the author's attention, however.

The bulk of a chapter entitled "Minnesota Becomes American" is given over to an account of Lieutenant Pike's visit to the upper Mississippi. Long, Cass, Schoolcraft, Beltrami, Albert Lea, Nicol-

let, and other explorers of the early nineteenth century figure in a chapter which takes the story to 1837 and the land cessions of that year. Here are included such varied and important subjects as the founding of Fort Snelling, Taliaferro's work as Indian agent, the establishment of the Red River settlement, the beginnings of steamboating on the Mississippi, the activities of the American Fur Company, and the work of missionaries among the natives. The sketch of the missionaries is interesting, especially for its account of the Pond brothers, but in general it does not reflect the new knowledge that research in this field has brought to light.

How "that recurring impulse which runs through American history in the nineteenth century, to pull up stakes and start life over again in a new country" brought settlers into the region opened up by the Sioux and Chippewa cessions of 1837 is explained in a chapter on settlement. The author selects Sibley, Steele, and Brown as figures typifying successive frontier stages, and he finds Brown the most forward-looking of the three, for he glimpsed a Minnesota future "in which agriculture, lumbering, the fur trade and manufacturing should constitute a balanced economic ensemble." The establishment of the territory and the administrations of Ramsey and Gorman are the subjects of three chapters. These are followed by essays on the admission of Minnesota to the Union and on Sibley and Ramsey as governors of the new state. Chapters 15 to 18 deal with Minnesota in the Civil and Sioux war era, but the author has an eye not only for the military exploits of its citizens but also for "Minnesota's Expansion during the War," a subject frequently neglected. The background of American history is well integrated with Minnesota in the story of the "Years of Reconstruction," which includes an account of Senator Daniel S. Norton's part in President Johnson's acquittal. Of this insurgent senator, who was read out of the Republican party by his Minnesota colleagues because of his refusal to side with the anti-Johnson forces, Mr. Christianson says, "No man of greater courage or a finer sense of honor ever represented Minnesota in the halls of Congress." Chapters on "Laying Rails," on the Austin administration, and on "A Decade of Calamities" from 1873 to 1883 conclude the first volume.

Perhaps the most notable and original contribution of Mr. Christianson's work is to be found in his relatively large allotment of space and emphasis to the recent history of Minnesota. Volume 2—more

than five hundred pages — comprises a narrative of Minnesota happenings since the seventies, opening with an interesting account of Oliver H. Kelley and the Grange and of Ignatius Donnelly and the Antimonopolists. The author sees the seventies as a period of transition. Free land was nearing an end. "Already there was less freedom on the frontier. New standards had been established. New ways had been adopted. Agriculture had been mechanized. . . . The farm was no longer a self-contained economic unit, but a part of an economic system — a system that often seemed unfriendly." Against this background he devotes much attention to the farmer and to labor, especially as factors in Minnesota politics; and his narrative pictures state conservatism, challenged again and again, in one movement after another, adapting itself to new programs and facing new problems. Much of the volume necessarily deals with economic history, but the author has adopted a political frame for his narrative and his chronology of events is, for the most part, organized by gubernatorial administrations. Some fifteen or sixteen of the twenty-two chapters thus deal with the administrations of successive governors. Exceptions to this procedure are chapters on "Embattled Farmers," "Patching the Constitution," "The Empire Builder Begins His Work," "The Greenbackers," "The Raid upon Minnesota's Resources," and "Saving the World for Democracy." It is interesting to observe, incidentally, that he closes his chapter on the World War with this generalization: "The disillusionment following the Great War brought to more and more people the conviction that not by suppression of opinions nor by the victory of arms, but by enlightenment and education, can the world be made safe for democracy."

There are, of course, many advantages in a political organization and approach in a work of this kind, but the reviewer would like to suggest, not as a criticism of Mr. Christianson but rather as a comment on the problem of dealing with our recent history, the possibility of a kind of organization that would give a more integrated picture of the processes of social and economic change. Is it not, after all, in these realms particularly that the state has undergone its fundamental transition from a pioneer to a modern commonwealth, that it has, in a word, "come of age"? One wonders, for example, about such broad topics as the development of agriculture, the emergence of new social points of view, the advance of public health and medicine, the history of the church, the adjustment of education to a chang-

ing world, the story of labor organization, the development of the Twin Cities as a metropolitan center, the saga of Minnesota racial elements and contributions, the story of Minnesota music and art, and the creation of a Minnesota literature. Mr. Christianson is undoubtedly aware of the significance of such subjects, and his book in fact contains a considerable amount of information about some of them. His political approach inevitably forces him to deal with them in a somewhat fragmentary and disconnected fashion, however, supplementary to politics and administration.

Many readers will naturally be most interested in the chapters in which Mr. Christianson, who himself served as governor of Minnesota for three terms, discusses the recent political history of the state. He closes his volume with two chapters on "The Christianson Administration" and "The Farmer-Labor Regime," respectively. His account of his own administration is firsthand historical source material for the future historian, as well as a unit in the present narrative. It is evident that the author has attempted to write these chapters in the spirit of the historian and not as a political partisan. It is equally evident, however, that he is human and, being so, has given his narrative at various points an emphasis that unmistakably reflects his own political stand. It would be highly interesting to have, alongside this account of the Farmer-Labor regime, a survey of that regime written by the present governor. Perhaps that will come later, for of the last four governors of Minnesota, two have already produced histories of the state.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

John Lind of Minnesota. By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1935. 398 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

In writing this biography Mr. Stephenson not only had access to the Lind Papers but actually used Governor Lind's own study as a workshop. He did not content himself, however, with studying the letters, reports, and other records left by Lind. He searched for material in other manuscript collections, notably the Bryan Papers in the Library of Congress and the Nelson and Donnelly papers at the Minnesota Historical Society, pored over files of nearly thirty news-

papers, including one in German and five in the Scandinavian languages, paged through the *Congressional Record* and various other government publications, consulted a host of special books and articles, and interviewed many friends and acquaintances of Lind. The result is a piece of honest research, but this alone does not account for the sense of reality that the reader gains from every page of the book. The biographer of John Lind needed to know Sweden and Swedish-American life, as well as the Minnesota and general American backgrounds of his subject, and here Mr. Stephenson has an unrivaled knowledge. To these advantages he adds a clear and vigorous style, marked by economy of words and simplicity, and a courage in setting forth the truth that matches the courage of "honest John" himself. All this has conspired to give us in *John Lind of Minnesota* the best biography yet written of a Minnesotan and one of a select few of notable American biographies of recent times.

A number of reviewers have considered this book important chiefly for its contribution to the history of Mexican relations under Wilson, and the blurb on the jacket of the book describes it, perhaps correctly, as "the *Now It Can Be Told* of the secret diplomacy of President Wilson in Mexico." The five chapters in which Mr. Stephenson traces the history of the Mexican mission and reveals the inside story of Lind's role as diplomat and peacemaker are unquestionably a significant contribution to American diplomatic history. The reviewer contends, however, that they do not constitute the chief contribution of the volume. That contribution, in his opinion, is made in the full-length portrait that the author draws of Lind as a man of courage, intelligence, and liberalism, and in the accompanying analysis of the general backgrounds of the man.

The story starts with "The Emigrant Boy," but a reminiscent letter of Lind serves as a prologue. In this letter, written in his sixty-seventh year, Lind sums up in a line his faith in democracy: "The people have used me pretty well on the whole. They trusted me and I trusted them." That was written long after the opening scene, however, which was a farm in Småland, Sweden, in the fifties. Mr. Stephenson knows Småland and he gives his readers a memorable picture of the setting of John Lind's fourteen years of Swedish boyhood, shows how the "America fever" infected the province, and tells of the migration of the Lind family to America, followed by years in which its members "drained the cup of poverty and hardship." The

author points out that Lind never identified himself with the Swedish-Americans as a group and did not seek to advance his political fortunes by angling for the so-called "Swedish vote." He did, however, take a deep interest in his Swedish heritage, read Swedish newspapers as long as he lived, retained his use of the language, and in his old age interested himself in the early history of Scandinavia to such an extent that when Archbishop Söderblom visited America in 1923 he and Lind could chat together about "our common old friend, Adam of Bremen." Meanwhile, for the boy John, back in 1868, the adventure of migration was quickly followed by tragedy. His left hand was mutilated by a shotgun explosion and amputated, probably unnecessarily, by a local physician. His dream of becoming a civil engineer was given up. Instead of "making blue prints and carrying a rod and chain," he was, as the author points out, "to advance the progress of civilization in the schoolhouse, before the bar, in the halls of Congress, and in the office of the chief executive of the state."

This remarkable career, all antedating the Mexican episode, Mr. Stephenson traces in a series of twelve chapters, only the general scope of which can be suggested in this review. Two years after his immigration John Lind, having in the meantime secured a little schooling, was a district schoolteacher. A couple of years later he was studying law in the office of a New Ulm lawyer and by 1875 he was a student at the University of Minnesota. In 1876 he returned to the New Ulm law office and was admitted to the bar. He emerged as a frontier lawyer and politician with a capacity for leadership. From 1877 to 1879 he was superintendent of schools for Brown County; in 1881 he became receiver and agent in the federal land office at Tracy; and five years later, at the age of thirty-two, he "was accorded the distinction of being the first Swedish-born American to be elected to Congress."

Lind made his political debut as a Republican, but his platform was "decidedly Populistic in spirit" and brought him the sharp criticism of the leading Republican organ of the state, which expressed the hope that he would "learn rapidly." Mr. Stephenson dryly remarks, however, that he did not "learn rapidly," that in fact "the older he grew the more discordant became his voice in the political chorus." John Lind was "in reality a political orphan all his life"—a natural independent. By his forthrightness he won the confidence of his constituency and was not only elected but twice

re-elected. Mr. Stephenson analyzes the question of nationality in the first election and concludes that it "did not affect the outcome . . . one way or the other." He then devotes three chapters to a careful study of Lind's career in Congress, a career in which he aligned himself in general with the dominant party, though he was not wholly satisfied with certain important majority measures to which he gave his vote. His voluntary retirement was a prelude, however, to his transition from Republicanism to fusion and to his becoming a spokesman for western reform and agrarian forces. He had, it is true, "little faith in the effectiveness of the Alliance as a political party," but the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act, the influence of Bryan, and the stand of the Republicans in 1896 made him first a Silver Republican and then a recipient of a fusion nomination for governor from the Democrats and Populists. In the subsequent election he lost to Clough by a narrow margin.

One of the most interesting contributions in the author's study of politics in the nineties is his analysis of the Scandinavian factor in state elections. He rejects the explanation that the Swedes in 1896 flocked to the standard of Lind and suggests that in reality "what prevented Bryan and Lind from carrying Minnesota was the conservative German, Swedish, and Norwegian voters." The author tells of Lind as "Soldier and Politician" in the interlude between 1896 and 1898 and then turns to "The Second Battle," which made Lind governor and which is "a landmark in the political history of Minnesota." Though Eustis attributed his defeat by Lind to the defection of the Swedish Republican vote, the author, while conceding that Lind's nationality and popularity had their influence, contends that he was not elected "on the nationality issue." A compact chapter tells of Lind's governorship. His administration was vigorous and courageous, but did not leave impressive marks upon legislation owing to the fact that he was opposed by a hostile majority in the legislature. The author then deals with "The Third Battle," that of 1900, in which Lind, now an out-and-out Democrat, was supported by Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans. He takes the view that Lind "was undoubtedly the choice of the people," but lost the election by the invalidation of from fifteen to twenty thousand votes that were obviously intended for him.

The remainder of the book deals chiefly with the remarkable mission that made Lind President Wilson's emissary to Mexico in a

critical period in the relations between the United States and its southern neighbor. Lind remains "honest John" throughout all the complexities of that mission, the story of which is presented with a wealth of detail drawn from hitherto unused correspondence. No summary of that story can be presented here, but the reviewer desires to call attention to Mr. Stephenson's account of "Politics, 1902-1913" and to the two concluding chapters on "War and Politics" and "Citizen of Minnesota." The period from 1902 to 1913 is clearly an interlude, though it is marked by another term in Congress, where Lind voted against Cannon as speaker and attacked Republican tariff policy, by his nomination by the Democrats for governor in 1910, which he promptly rejected, and by his enthusiastic support of Wilson for president in 1912. In a courageous chapter Mr. Stephenson tells of Lind's independent and sane course during the era of war hysteria and then follows Lind into the twenties, when he turned his back upon party labels and voted for men of liberal views, whether Republican, Democratic, or independent. The author in the final chapter presents a pleasing picture of Lind as a citizen—his service as a member and president of the university board of regents, his interest in humanitarian reform, his love of nature, his concern about Minnesota's wild life, his work for conservation, his interest in crippled children, his studies of geology and history, and many other matters. As one follows this absorbing biography to the end, one perceives that Lind was a man of genuine intellectual stature, of friendly human qualities, and of dry humor, as well as of power, courage, and independence.

A bibliography and a good index add to the usefulness of the volume. The University of Minnesota Press maintains its reputation for issuing beautifully printed and bound books.

T. C. B.

A Critical History of the Red River Insurrection, After Official Documents and Non-Catholic Sources. By A. G. MORICE, O.M.I., doctor of laws and laureate of the French Academy. (Winnipeg, the author, 1935. 375 p. Illustrations. \$2.75.)

In Canadian history, there is perhaps no more controversial subject than the Red River insurrection. French-Canadian historians of the

Roman Catholic faith have written extensively and encomiastically of the insurrection and the motives of its leaders; while Protestant Anglo-Canadians, for the most part, have denounced both the uprising and its leaders in the severest of terms. All have written under the guise of history. None have told the whole truth. When people write with definitely established prejudices and preconceptions, it is impossible to present history aright.

The *Critical History of the Red River Insurrection* is not Father Morice's first attempt to write the history of the Red River difficulties. Those who are familiar particularly with his four-volume *Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien* and with his two-volume *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada* are aware of the several chapters in each of these works that treat specifically of the insurrection. As a matter of fact, there are presented in these studies accounts that are much alike and nearly as extensive as the account in the *Critical History*; and in both cases the author's interpretation of the causes and events is practically the same.

In the *Critical History*, the causes, events, and aftermath of the Red River disturbances are recorded in twelve lengthy and loosely constructed chapters. Although the author repeatedly avows historical objectivity, almost to a degree that becomes painful to the reader, it cannot be said that he is always fair and reasonable. That Father Morice did not approach his task free from prejudice and preconception is quite apparent. His work in a large measure constitutes a vehement denunciation of writings that are repugnant to his way of thinking. And it is interesting to observe that only the statements of the "English" writers are execrated; the author definitely asserts that they are "inspired by hatred, sourness and prejudice" (p. 72).

This study can in no wise be regarded as definitive. In the opinion of the reviewer, the author has not oriented his subject sufficiently, nor has he treated it in all its necessary ramifications. International relationships are almost entirely ignored. American interests and intrigues probably had little to do with the immediate inception or the outcome of the troubles, but their influences were actively present and ought not to be totally disregarded. Rapid American expansion into the Northwest in the decades of the fifties and sixties had a far greater significance as a remote cause of the Red River insurrection than historians have recognized.

For the specialist in western Canadian history, the *Critical History* is of interest and importance, but for the general reader it is unfortunately more detrimental than valuable.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

VASSAR COLLEGE
POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK

The Correction Line. By REV. A. C. GARRIOCH. (Winnipeg, Stovel Company Limited, 1933. 414, vi p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

Here is a book that will have considerable appeal for the layman interested in the history of the Red River. Unpretentious, and in instances almost naive, it tells an impressive story of life on the prairie. Beginning with the earliest explorations and fur-trade activities in the Northwest, the story in broad outline is brought down to the present time. The author discusses the tragedies of early Red River settlement with much understanding and objectivity. There is no vituperation, although it is quite obvious that the writer is very sympathetic with Lord Selkirk and his purposes.

Perhaps the best portions of the book are those that treat of evangelization. It may be that Mr. Garrioch has given, in proportion, too much attention to religious activities, but on the other hand this is a phase of the country's history that has never been adequately treated.

The chapters entitled "Riel Rebellion (1868-1870)," "The Provisional Government (1870)," and "Rebellions, First and Second (1870-1885)" are undoubtedly the weakest in the volume. The causes, events, and results of the Riel insurrections are sketched in a tedious and commonplace manner. In fact the author indicates rather forcibly that he has prejudices and preconceptions.

Although Mr. Garrioch has regarded the Red River as a region, he has been much too circumscribed in the writing of its history. American connections and interests are largely ignored throughout. Red River trade activities with St. Paul and other international relationships, so important in the middle of the nineteenth century, are completely disregarded. If the author were a bit more inclusive, undoubtedly his work would have a greater appeal.

J. P. P.

"An Engineer's Recollections." By JOHN F. STEVENS. (In the *Engineering News-Record*, New York, March 21-September 5, 1935.)

In this series of autobiographical sketches are narrated some incidents from the remarkable career of John F. Stevens, a prominent civil engineer whose achievements are closely linked with the railroad history of the Northwest. The account begins with his employment in 1882 as an engineer for a contractor who was building a section of the Canadian Pacific Railroad west of Winnipeg. He remained with that road until its completion to the Pacific in 1886, acquiring in those four years an experience in surveying mountain grades that was to stand him in good stead in later years. During the rest of the eighties he worked at several railroad building jobs, including the construction of a ninety-mile branch line of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad in northern Iowa and a particularly difficult line through the wilderness along the southern shore of Lake Superior from Sault Ste. Marie to Duluth.

During these same years James J. Hill was rapidly extending the lines of the Great Northern Railroad westward toward the Pacific. Progress on the road was stopped when the Rocky Mountains were reached, however, for the engineers were unable to find a pass through the barrier. It was at this critical stage that John F. Stevens was employed, and in December, 1889, he began a painstaking exploration of the Rockies. On December 11, alone in the bitter cold of a mountain winter, he found the famous Marias Pass, which gave the Great Northern the low grade over the mountains that Hill demanded. This discovery was an important happening in Stevens' career, for it opened to him the opportunity to continue his work with the Great Northern. In 1895 he became chief engineer for the road and took a leading part in the expansion of the Hill lines in the Pacific Northwest. To commemorate the discovery of this route through the mountains, a statue of Stevens was unveiled at the summit of Marias Pass in the summer of 1925.

Stevens' experience ranged from that of an engineering assistant for the growing city of Minneapolis to that of a brilliant railroad engineer and explorer. His merit was recognized by two expressions of public confidence—an appointment as chief engineer for the Isthmian Canal Commission in 1905 and his election as chairman of a

commission of railway engineers that was sent to Russia in 1917 to rehabilitate the Russian railway system. The postal authorities of the Canal Zone have announced that, in acknowledgment of his services in the construction of the Panama Canal, a new five-cent postage stamp bearing his portrait will be issued. Stevens has lately made his home in Baltimore, where in the comparative serenity of his later years he has had the opportunity to record these memories of a colorful life.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

During the six months from April to October the society received some twenty-three thousand visitors in its museum, served two hundred and twenty users of manuscripts, had more than two thousand patrons in its main library, and assisted about twelve hundred persons who wished to consult newspaper files. Users of manuscripts, books, and museum articles in this half year have included three fellows of the Rockefeller Foundation; a teacher from the University of Oslo, who came to use the Veblen Papers; a student from the University of Toronto, who was making a study of Canadian-American relations and was particularly interested in the Taylor Papers; a scholar from Columbia University, who is making a study of wage-earners in the westward movement; a member of the Manitoba Historical Society, who was investigating American sources for the history of the Canadian Northwest; a novelist from New York; and a professor from the University of South Dakota, who is studying early drama in the mining camps and who wished to use the society's extensive file of Black Hills newspapers.

The society is making an effort to build up a file of the old *Nor'wester*, a newspaper published at Fort Garry from December, 1859, to November, 1869. Only two original issues of this rare paper, which contains a wealth of material on the history of the Red River Valley of Minnesota as well as of Canada, are now owned by the society. These are dated June 14, 1860, and January 24, 1863. The society also has the prospectus of the paper, dated August 22, 1859, and photostats of a number of issues published in 1862 and 1863. Is there a complete file of the paper in any Canadian collection? Original issues or photostats of numbers not already in the society's possession will be welcome additions to its file. Another Canadian newspaper file that the society is attempting to complete is that of the *New Nation*, which began publication at Winnipeg on January 7, 1870. Anyone having copies of the *Nor'wester* or the *New Nation* or knowing of their whereabouts is asked to communicate with the society.

A manuscript committee composed of members of the society and its executive council has been named, with Mr. Ira C. Oehler of St. Paul as chairman. Other members of the committee, which will give special attention to the problem of extending the society's collection of personal papers, are the president of the society, Mr. William W. Cutler of St. Paul, Mr. Edward C. Gale and Dr. George M. Stephenson of Minneapolis, and Mrs. Edward B. Young of St. Paul. Miss Nute is secretary of the committee.

An effort to enlarge the society's collection of church records and to bring together systematic information about materials preserved in local church archives is being made through a questionnaire, which has been sent to all Congregational pastors in Minnesota. Plans are under way for sending similar questionnaires to ministers of other denominations.

Eighteen additions to the active membership of the society were made during the three months ending September 30, 1935. They include one life member, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh of Englewood, New Jersey; and the following annual members: Elmer A. Benson of St. Paul; Charles J. Berry of Minneapolis; Edward Caldwell of New York City; Mrs. Elmer J. Carlson of Cass Lake; Ellworth T. Carlstedt of Bloomfield, Iowa; Otis B. DeLaurier of Long Prairie; Jesse S. Douglas of San Francisco; Percy J. Feany of St. Paul; C. E. Folin of Brooten; Dr. Arthur B. Hunt of Rochester; Roscoe C. Kirkpatrick of Nashwauk; Harold C. Knox of Winnipeg; Karen Larsen of Northfield; Nadine Munns of Minneapolis; Charles Phinney of Herman; Roland S. Vaile of Minneapolis; and Mrs. Hurley Warming of St. Paul.

The society lost ten active members by death during the three months ending September 30: John S. Comstock of Detroit Lakes, July 11; Horace B. Ayres of Kimberly, July 14; Herbert H. Goodrich of Minneapolis, July 21; Dr. William E. Leonard of Hadley, Massachusetts, August 28; Thomas D. O'Brien of St. Paul, September 3; Albert M. Slocum of Minneapolis, September 11; Rachel C. Mason of St. Paul, September 17; William C. Johnson of Minneapolis, September 18; Jesse A. Gregg of St. Paul, September 21; and Orange S. Miller of Champlin, September 24. William Abbott of New York City, an honorary member, died on September 7. The

deaths of Henry B. Dike of Orlando, Florida, on August 18, 1934, and of J. Anton Ochs of New Ulm on September 19 of the same year, have not previously been reported in this magazine.

A joint review of the letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm and of the *Guide to the Personal Papers* in the society's manuscript collection, both published recently by the society, appeared some time ago in the *Springfield Republican*. The Massachusetts newspaper praises the Minnesota society for being "interested in the whole life and activity of the state's people—in manners, customs, architecture, religion, social conditions—and not merely in political, military and economic records of past years." The writer of the review characterizes the activities of the society as "zealous, scholarly, and extensive" and asserts that the "society is now showing greater energy and resolution than at any previous period."

A *Memorial of Warren Upham*, by Professor W. H. Emmons, which appears in the *Proceedings* of the Geological Society of America for 1934, has also been issued as a separate (June, 1935). It includes a brief sketch of Dr. Upham, who was secretary of this society from 1895 to 1914 and its archaeologist from that year to 1933, and a bibliography of his writings relating to the subject of geology. Items published between 1877 and 1922 are listed.

In an editorial entitled "History in Song," which appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 27, Miss Edgar's study of Finnish folk songs, in the September issue of this magazine, is noted. "Those who are concerned with the study of literature and history as embodied in song will welcome any efforts to extend this field of research to include all the racial groups which make up the population of Minnesota," reads the editorial.

Mrs. Berthel's article on "Hunting in Minnesota in the Seventies," which appeared in the September issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY, attracted considerable attention in the press. It was reviewed in a feature article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 26, and it was the subject of editorial comment in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 2. In the latter paper the "revolutionary change in the methods of transporting the hunters to the scene of their sport" is emphasized.

An interview with Miss Nute, in which she describes some of her experiences while searching for material relating to Radisson and Groseilliers, is reported by Janet Fotheringham in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 1.

The paper on "Chippewa Falls, a Pre-Railroad Business Center," by Barr Moses, editor of the *Springfield* [Ohio] *Sun*, which was read at the Willmar session of the thirteenth state historical convention held under the auspices of the society on June 15, is published in full in the *Brooken Review* for August 8.

Miss Frances Densmore's article on "The Garrard Family in Frontenac," which appeared in *MINNESOTA HISTORY* for March, 1933, is reprinted in installments in the *Wabasha County Leader* of Lake City for August 1, 8, and 15. Portions of the article were quoted in a recent decision of the Minnesota Supreme Court in the case of *Schaler vs. Town of Florence*. Judge Julius J. Olson referred to the "interesting history connected with Frontenac, excellently and entertainingly written, in the March, 1933, number of the magazine 'Minnesota History.'"

Talks on "The Lure of Minnesota History" and on "Little Discoveries in a Great Past" were presented by the superintendent before the Marshall County Historical Society at Warren on July 14 and the Business and Professional Women's Club of St. Paul on September 18. Before her return to Minnesota in August Miss Nute presented an address on Radisson before the Rotary Club of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, on July 9. She gave a talk on early Minnesota events and personages before the St. Martin's Study Club of St. Paul on September 13, and she spoke on her researches abroad at Hamline University on September 30. Mr. Babcock spoke on "Cross and Plough, the Missionary as a Civilizer" at Chippewa-Lac qui Parle State Park on July 9, on "Community Memory" at Carver on July 20, and on "Local History Work in Freeborn County" at Albert Lea on July 30. Miss Jerabek read a paper on "Bohemian Pioneers of McLeod County" at Carver on July 20.

ACCESSIONS

Nineteen items added to the Pond Papers by Miss Agnes Pond of Shakopee include several letters written from Traverse des Sioux by

Robert Hopkins between 1845 and 1848, two letters of Gideon H. Pond written from Connecticut in 1843 and 1844, and one sent from Prairieville by Samuel Pond in 1849.

An interesting and valuable diary kept by Benjamin Densmore in 1856 while engaged in a survey for townsites and projected railroads in Minnesota has been added to the Densmore Papers by the Misses Margaret and Frances Densmore of Red Wing (see *ante*, 15:464). They have presented also some correspondence for the years 1856 and 1857 relating to the building of a sawmill at Red Wing, a field record of a survey made at the same place in 1857, and typewritten extracts from a number of family letters.

To "come West to live is no child's play, and the question of removal to the West should be seriously approached" reads a letter written from Hutchinson in 1857 and published in a contemporary issue of the *New York Tribune*. It has been transcribed for the society, along with numerous other items relating to Minnesota and the Middle West appearing in the *Tribune* between 1848 and 1860, by Miss Ruby Karstad of Staples. Among other subjects touched upon are the Stillwater convention of 1848, Governor Ramsey's journey to the Chippewa country in 1850, pioneer life in Minnesota, and a public land sale in Iowa.

Information about the Excelsior colony, the Maine liquor law, a disastrous flood in the Red River Valley, the railroad excursion of 1854, the population of Minnesota in the fifties, Congregational churches, and Chippewa missions is contained in the transcripts and calendar cards made for the society from files, in the Congregational Library in Boston, of the *Independent* and the *Vermont Chronicle* for the period from 1851 to 1856. A letter written by Stephen R. Riggs in September, 1851, on the treaty of Traverse des Sioux is among the transcripts.

Two letters written from St. Paul by Edward A. Holmes in 1855 and 1857, and received from Mr. Warren Biggs of Williamston, North Carolina, tell of real estate speculations in Minnesota townsites, the writer's plans to erect a sawmill, and his work as a surveyor for Simeon P. Folsom.

Nine letters written by Frederick P. Leavenworth from St. Peter in 1856 and 1857 and one that he received at Van Buren, Arkansas, in 1860 have been added to his papers by Miss Jane S. Davis of Petersburg, Virginia (see *ante*, p. 334). Among the subjects mentioned in the letters are the St. Peter lyceum, the Minnesota constitutional conventions, an Indian payment at Yellow Medicine, Sioux customs, the Spirit Lake massacre, and a townsite of the Dacotah Land Company on the Cottonwood River.

A certificate of inspection of the steamer "Eolian," which ran between St. Paul and "Red Wood" in 1861 and which was owned by William F. Davidson, has been received from Mr. Selby J. Roop of Wilmington, Delaware, through the courtesy of his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth R. Glenn, also of Wilmington.

The diaries and parish records kept by two Episcopal clergymen in Minnesota, Charles Rollitt and his son, Charles Carter Rollitt, have been added by the latter's estate to the archives of the Minnesota diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church (see *ante*, 14:101). The diaries of the elder Rollitt cover the years 1861 to 1865 and 1871, when he was serving in the province of Quebec and at St. Anthony; and his parish reports were made between 1871 and 1883 in the vicinity of Farmington. The papers of the son include his lecture notes in Dr. William W. Folwell's course in political economy at the University of Minnesota, and a memorandum book and parish records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths kept at Fergus Falls and Red Wing from 1886 to 1905.

Photostatic copies of forty items dating from 1862 and 1863 and relating to the location of troops in Minnesota during the Sioux War and the building of stockades at military posts between St. Cloud and Fort Abercrombie have been made for the society from the originals in the archives of the war department. Four documents in the Indian office that have been copied touch upon charges preferred in 1844 against David Lowry, agent for the Winnebago.

A certificate of discharge from the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, which was issued to James McDuff on March 29, 1862, is the gift of Miss Emma McDuff of St. Paul.

Two letters written to Mrs. Ann M. Tidd at St. Anthony in January, 1863, during the illness of her husband, Tristram Tidd, a member of the Second Battery of Minnesota Light Artillery during the Civil War, have been presented by Mr. Donald T. Smith of Lockhart, Texas. One of the letters is written by L. F. Russell, surgeon of the battery, and the other was dictated by Tidd to A. C. Gowdy.

A commission issued in 1863 to Charles N. Pinney as second lieutenant in the "Rifle Grays" of Ottawa has been presented by Mr. O. J. Pinney of Le Sueur, through the courtesy of Dean Richard U. Jones of Macalester College.

Three boxes of papers of the Reverend Ole Nilsen, a Norwegian Lutheran pastor in Wisconsin and North Dakota, covering the period from 1882 to 1931, have been presented by his daughter, Miss Frida Nilsen of Grand Forks, North Dakota. The collection includes letters from leaders in the Norwegian Lutheran church in America, including Hans G. Stub, Theodore H. Dahl, Christian Johnson, and N. B. Thvedt; Nilsen's sermons and notebooks; and a list of immigrants from certain sections of Norway.

Two volumes of minutes of meetings of the Minnesota Society of Colonial Dames of America for the period from 1894 to 1920 have been received through the courtesy of Mrs. Charles A. Clark of St. Paul.

A volume of minutes of meetings of the Wright County Medical Society for 1894 and 1903 to 1934 has been presented by Dr. John H. Catlin of Buffalo. The volume includes also the constitution and bylaws of the society, lists of members, notices of meetings and programs, and the constitution and minutes of two meetings held in 1883 and 1884 by the Crow River Valley Medical Society.

Five account books covering the period from 1901 to 1911 of the meat packing firm of Katz and Hertz of South St. Paul have been presented by Mr. Arthur Katz of St. Paul.

A brief biographical sketch of John and George Blackwell, who settled in Meeker County in 1857, has been written and presented by Miss Lucy E. Keller of Grand Marais.

References to the beginnings of Hamline University at Red Wing are contained in a recent letter by Mr. George N. Messick of Duluth to President Charles N. Pace of Hamline University, a copy of which has been made for the society through the latter's courtesy. The author also mentions his father, Nathan S. Messick of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, who was killed in the battle of Gettysburg.

"Public Opinion on Federal Land Policies in Minnesota, 1837-1862" is the title of a master's thesis by Ben R. Brainerd, a copy of which has been received from the department of history of the University of Minnesota. A term paper on "The Government Farmer and the Minnesota Indians," prepared at the university by Sister Grace McDonald, has been copied through the courtesy of the author.

An article on "Portages and Old Trails" in Jay Cooke State Park, with an illustrative map, is the gift of the author, Mr. John Fritzen of Duluth. Most of the article is devoted to the Grand Portage of the St. Louis River.

Biographical sketches and photographs of Minnesotans who participated in the World War, filling nine filing boxes, have been collected and presented by the American Legion Auxiliary of Minnesota. Histories of the activities of each local unit in 1935 also have been added to the collections of the auxiliary.

A volume containing sixty-four highly colored lithographs by J. O. Lewis, an artist who attended the treaties at Prairie du Chien in 1825, Fond du Lac in 1826, and other points in the Northwest in the years that followed, has been acquired by the society. The prints, which are exceedingly rare, include portraits of many of the chiefs who took part in these treaty negotiations. An interesting view of the treaty ground at Prairie du Chien also is included.

Two quilts and several articles of infants' and children's clothing dating from the late fifties and crayon portraits of Mr. and Mrs. John Teachout, Farmington pioneers, are the gifts of the Misses Annis and Orena Teachout of Farmington. Articles added to the domestic life collection by Mrs. M. A. Bronson of Merrifield, through the courtesy of Mrs. Walter Hyde of Minneapolis, include a teapot and nutmeg and pepper shakers of Britannia ware, several vases and plates, and candlesticks of brass and iron.

A cannon ball from Cavite, a Philippine dagger, and other articles recalling the Spanish-American War are the gifts of Mr. G. N. Mid-dents of St. Paul and San Diego, California. Mr. Theodore Hays of Minneapolis has presented an album of badges used when the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry returned to Minneapolis on October 12, 1899.

A gun barrel of the flintlock type used in the fur trade, found by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock on an island at the entrance to North Fowl Lake on the Pigeon River-Rainy Lake canoe route, has been added to the museum collection.

A broad ax and a carpenter's plane of the plow type have been presented by Dr. J. C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

More than a hundred articles collected in the Philippine Islands and in India have been presented by General Charles McC. Reeve of Minnetonka Beach as an addition to the collection of similar materials previously given to the society. Included are an antique battle ax of steel inlaid with gold, models in brass of Indian vehicles, carved and inlaid wooden boxes, antique metal seals, and a wicker chair and trunk from Manila. A glass case for display purposes was presented with the collection.

Two photographic copies of a portrait of Joseph Jack Frazer, a well-known mixed-blood hunter and scout, are the gift of Mr. F. M. Kaisersatt of Faribault, who owns the original.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A joint resolution of Congress, approved on August 2, provides for the establishment of a commission of fourteen members to plan and "provide for the observance and celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and the settlement of the Northwest Territory." Since this region included a substantial portion of the present state of Minnesota, the anniversary celebration will be of special interest in this state.

"The State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Minnesota Historical Society have been outstanding in gathering historical records, and their collections include a considerable number of farmers' diaries and similar materials," writes Everett E. Edwards in an article on "The Need of Historical Materials for Agricultural Research," which appears in *Agricultural History* for January. Attention is called also to the large collection of material relating to agricultural history that is being assembled by the McCormick Historical Association of Chicago. Many items from this collection relating to the introduction of farm machinery in Minnesota have been copied on filmstrips for the Minnesota Historical Society (see *ante*, 15:464).

"The Rise and Decline of the American Agricultural Interest" is reviewed by D. W. Brogan in the *Economic History Review* for April. Until about 1900, writes Mr. Brogan, "American farming had been soil mining. Land was the cheapest of the factors of production: labour the dearest." The changes that came about and the problems that arose with the "taking up of sub-marginal lands left behind in the great westward sweep" are discussed in some detail. Several references to the development of agriculture in Minnesota and the Northwest are included. Mr. Brogan draws from an issue of the *Boston Journal* in the seventies the following quotation: "Draw a line from the Mississippi River at St. Cloud to Pembina on the Red River close to the boundary line and you have west of that line a region which . . . comes nearer the Garden of Eden than any other portion of the earth."

An editorial in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 1, headed "Dust Storms of the Past," contradicts the "prevailing notion that

dust storms are only a modern phenomenon, and a sort of penalty for over-grazing and over-plowing the Western plains." "The Minnesota Historical society at St. Paul," reads the editorial, has "an 1864 diary in its possession kept by Major Ebenezer Rice, one of the officers of the expedition led by General Alfred Sully from Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, to the upper Missouri river region. This first-hand account of the expedition describes the severe dust storms encountered while crossing the Yellowstone River. Wagon trains standing half a mile away were completely invisible and 'clouds of white dust swept over the camp' penetrating clothing, bedding, and baggage. The experience moved the Major to write in his journal, 'Of all the dust and sand this beat everything I ever witnessed.'"

A new edition of Hiram M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, first published in 1902, has been issued with an introduction and notes by Stallo Vinton (New York, Press of the Pioneers, 1935. 2 vols.). In addition to the original text and notes, "editor's notes" appear at the end of nearly every chapter. These are very uneven in quantity and scope. The editor appears to be unacquainted with many of the recent studies in the field of the fur trade. Kenneth Porter's extensive biography of John Jacob Astor, for example, is not noted. Recent interpretations of the Yellowstone expeditions are not mentioned. The great body of the American Fur Company Papers in New York and John Jacob Astor's own papers seem to be unknown to the editor. Several of the Champlain Society's volumes that bear directly on the field covered by the volumes are not mentioned, notably that of the writings of the La Vérendryes. On the other hand, valuable information is often contained in the notes, such as in that on page 214 relative to the publication of Robert Stuart's journals and a discussion of the discovery of South Pass by Stuart's party. In general, however, it must be said that the chief value of the new edition lies not in bringing either text or notes up to date, but in supplying students with the distinguished work by Chittenden, long since out of print.

G. L. N.

In a volume on *The Medicine-Man of the American Indian and His Cultural Background* (Springfield, Illinois, 1935), William T. Corlett gives some attention to the practices of medicine men among the Sioux and the Chippewa.

Much information about the Indians of northern Minnesota is to be found in part 30 of a *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States*, which deals with Minnesota and North Dakota (Washington, 1934). It includes "hearings before a subcommittee of the committee on Indian affairs" of the United States Senate, held at the Cass Lake, White Earth, and Red Lake Indian agencies in Minnesota.

Some Sioux place names in the Mississippi Valley, particularly in the vicinity of Red Wing, are recorded and explained by Frances Densmore in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 14. They were given to the writer by Makawastewin, or Susan Windgrow, "one of the oldest Sioux women in the region." Her names for such landmarks as Lake Pepin, Maiden Rock, and Barn Bluff are presented, and Sioux legends connected with these places are given. Miss Densmore's article is reprinted in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for September 12.

Sister M. Inez Hilger, who contributed an account of a medal found near Red Lake to the last issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY, describes the methods used by Indian women of the Red Lake Indian Reservation in making birch-bark receptacles, in *Indians at Work* for September. She tells of the primitive methods used in gathering and preparing bark, of the preparation of basswood fibre for sewing birch bark, of the types of leakable and non-leakable receptacles made, and of their uses.

To mark the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Dr. Frederick W. Hodge's career as an anthropologist, which occurs in 1936, a fund to be known as the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund is to be established. "Dr. Hodge headed the Bureau of American Ethnology for eight years," reads an announcement issued by the committee in charge of the fund. "His long career has been one of constant support and encouragement to the study of American prehistory. The Fund which is to bear his name offers to his many friends and admirers an opportunity to do him personal honor, at the same time increasing the meager existing facilities for publication of research in the important field of American prehistory." Contributions should be sent to the Hodge Fund, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California.

Frontier Folkways by James G. Leyburn (New Haven, 1935) is a study of the "adjustments made by pioneers who, coming from an established society, were forced by the very nature of their undertaking to adjust if they were to survive at all." The author includes chapters on the "Massachusetts Bay Frontier" and on the "French along the Saint Lawrence." He gives some notice to the Middle West in a chapter entitled "Characteristic Phases of Frontier Life in America."

Centennial celebrations of the consecration of Jackson Kemper, first missionary bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church, have occasioned the numerous biographical items about him that are appearing. The entire September issue of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* is devoted to him. Four articles in that issue hold interest for the whole Northwest. "Jackson Kemper, Presbyter," by Howard M. Stuckert, sketches Kemper's early life, mostly in New York and Pennsylvania. "A Turning Point: The General Convention of 1835," by Walter H. Stowe, reviews the history of the Episcopal church in the United States and gives some very convincing reasons for its slight accent on missionary enterprise until the famous convention of 1835. In "Kemper's Missionary Episcopate: 1835-1859," by Edward R. Hardy, Jr., Kemper's work as a missionary bishop in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and other frontier territories and states is discussed. Here references are found to Kemper's visit to Fort Snelling in 1843 and to his relations with the new diocese of Minnesota. "Kemper's Diocesan Episcopate: 1854-1870" by Frank E. Wilson touches Minnesota history at several points—the consecration of Bishop Whipple, a trip from Superior to St. Paul in 1860, and other Minnesota visits. Extracts from Kemper's diaries and letters add to the historical value of this issue of the quarterly. Reference is made in a "Kemper Bibliography" (p. 243) to letters published *ante*, 7:264-273, from the Kemper Papers, owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The *Living Church* for September also is a special centennial number in honor of Bishop Kemper. On its cover it carries an excellent portrait of Kemper as a young man. "Editorials and Comments" and several articles are devoted to an appraisal of Kemper and his work.

G. L. N.

In a brief article entitled "John McLoughlin, M.D.," which appears in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for June, Mr. T. C. Elliott

presents evidence to show that this well-known fur trader received his medical training at Quebec and was "licensed to Practice in Surgery and Pharmacy" in 1803. Several documents from the Public Archives of Canada relating to McLoughlin's service as "an apprentice & student in Medicine" under Dr. James Fisher are published by Mr. Elliott. Some items relating to Dr. McLoughlin's practice of medicine at Fort William and in the boundary region of northern Minnesota in 1807 and 1808 are quoted from a contemporary journal.

In the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, the State Historical Society of Iowa gives further attention to the centennial of Albert M. Lea's explorations in Iowa and southern Minnesota, which it had commemorated earlier by reprinting the explorer's *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory* and by publishing in the *Palimpsest* several articles and documents relating to Lea (see *ante*, p. 227). The leading article in the *Journal* is a detailed biography of "Albert Miller Lea" by Ruth A. Gallaher. His visit on July 29, 1835, to the Minnesota lake which now bears his name is recorded in detail. An interesting extract is quoted from a reminiscence article by Lea, in which he tells how his name was given to this lake by Joseph N. Nicollet (p. 212). In the preparation of this valuable narrative, Miss Gallaher drew upon manuscripts, newspapers, and books relating to the career of the explorer in the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. As appendixes to the article, reports made by Lea on the Des Moines River in 1835 and on the "Iowa-Missouri Boundary" in 1839 are published. A study of "Troops and Military Supplies on Upper Mississippi River Steamboats" by William J. Petersen appears in the same issue of the *Journal*. Troops, government expeditions, and government supplies that reached Fort Snelling and St. Paul by steamboat between the founding of the fort in 1819 and the close of the Civil War are covered in this article.

An article on "The County, District, and State Agricultural Societies of Iowa" by Myrtle Beinhauer, in the *Annals of Iowa* for July, suggests possibilities for a similar study in Minnesota. Early county agricultural societies and the fairs that they arranged are described, and the organization of the state agricultural society in 1853 is noted. Much of the article is devoted to the story of the development of the Iowa state fair. In the same issue of the *Annals*, Douglas

C. McMurtrie reprints sections relating to Iowa from rare newspaper directories published in 1852, 1856, 1861, and 1869.

The first installment of a study of "New Upsala: the First Swedish Settlement in Wisconsin" by Dr. Filip A. Forsbeck appears in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September. It is prefaced by a biographical sketch of Gustaf Unonius, the founder of the settlement, upon whose memoirs, published in Swedish, the study is based. To the same issue of the Wisconsin magazine William F. Raney contributes a review of "Pine Lumbering in Wisconsin," in which considerable attention is given to the development of this industry along streams flowing into the Mississippi—the Wisconsin, the Black, the Chipewewa, and the St. Croix rivers. The career of Frederick Weyerhaeuser, which "began in Illinois, and ended in Minnesota," is outlined by Mr. Raney, who notes that Weyerhaeuser mills are still operating in Minnesota and in the Pacific Northwest.

"Early Methods of Transporting Iron Ore in the Lake Superior Region" are described by John H. Hearding in *Skilling's Mining Review* for July 27. The writer deals both with early railroads and with shipping facilities on Lake Superior. Most of his narrative relates to the shipping of iron ore in Michigan.

A chapter on the "Emigration of Maine Lumbermen" is the concluding section in a volume on the *History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861*, by Richard G. Wood, published by the University of Maine as number 33 in its second series of *Studies* (1935. 267 p.). "Men who had learned the tricks of the trade in Maine went west to practise their skill in untouched forests," writes Mr. Wood. Among the men specifically mentioned are Dorilus Morrison, William D. Washburn, Daniel Stanchfield, and other "Maineites" who helped to develop the Minnesota lumber industry. Minnesota, according to the author, "proved to be a field for Maine exploitation." Since methods originally developed in the forests of Maine were applied later in the Northwest, chapters on "Methods of Lumbering in Maine," and on the drive, the boom, and "Rafting and Scaling" should be of interest to Minnesotans.

A fourth article on the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, by its archivist, R. H. G. Leveson Gower, appears in the *Beaver* for September. It deals with the "original letters received in London"

by the company, and their arrangement. Among the groups of letters mentioned are those "from Fort Garry, the headquarters of the Red River Department and Colony, from 1841 to 1870." In the same issue of the *Beaver* is a reminiscent account entitled "Memories of Upper Fort Garry" by the late Anna M. Cowan, whose father, Dr. William Cowan, was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company at the fort. The writer presents a vivid picture of the social life of the families living at Fort Garry between 1835 and 1882. Some mention of Dr. Cowan, who spent the later years of his life in St. Paul, is included in an account by Dr. Ross Mitchell of "The Early Doctors of Manitoba" which has been reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* (21 p.).

An attempt to answer the question "Is there an authentic portrait of Cartier?" is made by Gustave Lanctôt in an article on "Portraits of Jacques Cartier," which appears in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* for March. Several likenesses of the discoverer of Canada are reproduced with the article, and the authenticity of each is considered.

The first volume of *The Encyclopedia of Canada* has been issued under the editorship of W. Stewart Wallace by the University Associates of Canada (Toronto, 1935). Information about many individuals and places of significance for Minnesota as well as Canadian history is to be found in this compilation. An article on "Boundaries" contains a brief statement about the boundary westward from the Lake of the Woods. Under the heading "Archives" are to be found concise statements about the Public Archives of Canada and about the more important provincial archives.

A record of a visit to Three Rivers, Canada, during the city's celebration of its three-hundredth anniversary in 1934, is contributed by Dr. Grace Lee Nute to the *Three Rivers Year Book* for 1935. A canoe race by French-Canadian voyageurs is described in detail by the writer. Other articles of special interest in the *Year Book* are a detailed, illustrated account of the "Tercentenary of Trois-Rivières"; a review of the exploration of La Vérendrye, a native of Three Rivers, and his sons, by Lawrence J. Burpee, which appears under the title "Pathfinders of the Plains"; and a second article on La Vérendrye by John T. Tebbutt.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

"The Modern Commonwealth of Minnesota" is the title of a syllabus prepared by Theodore C. Blegen with the assistance of Lewis Beeson, which is being mimeographed by the General College of the University of Minnesota. It will be available shortly after December 1. It offers a topical plan of study for the history of Minnesota since 1865, with outlines, questions, suggestions, and references, supplementing and amplifying Mr. Blegen's *Minnesota History: A Study Outline*, which was issued by the University of Minnesota Press in 1931. Copies of the new syllabus may be obtained for fifty cents each at the Engineers' Book Store on the campus of the University of Minnesota.

"My Town" in the "old lumber territory of Minnesota" is the subject of an article by Meridel Le Sueur in the *New Republic* for September 25. She describes her town on the St. Croix River as one that "has been wrecked by methods of primitive accumulation, laissez-faire individualism, pioneer habits of settlement, gambling in town lots, speculation in railroad stocks, exaggeration of opportunities," and the like. Ignatius Donnelly's town of Nininger, near Hastings, is cited by the writer as the typical boom town of the fifties that failed to develop. "The 1857 census showed flourishing towns that did not exist, nor ever would," she writes. "Land speculation rose to dizzy heights. Town lots were sold on paper. Counties were established with no people in them. Sawmills, breweries went up, oyster saloons, dams were built, bottom lands were flooded, Indian rice fields were destroyed. Newspapers sprang up." The writer points out that Nininger, "advertised with such aplomb boomed, zoomed, fell like a plummet in the panic, and then went bankrupt again when another town, Hastings, outbid it for the railroad."

A small pottery bowl found in an Indian mound near Camden State Park is described in the *Marshall Daily Messenger* for September 24. It was examined by Dr. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota, and his comments are quoted in the *Messenger*. A sketch of the bowl accompanies the article.

The discovery in June, 1935, of a skeleton of what appears to be a prehistoric man in a gravel pit near West Union is reported by the Reverend Henry Retzek in *Science* for July 19. His account of the

find is reprinted and pictures of the skull and of the gravel pit are reproduced in the *Long Prairie Leader* for August 8.

One chapter of Sherwood Anderson's *Puzzled America* (New York, 1935) is entitled "Olsonville" and is devoted to a discussion of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota and the Northwest. "The whole movement is partly an outgrowth of the old Non-Partisan League, partly a kind of spontaneous upgrowth out of the soil and of the shops in the towns," writes Mr. Anderson. He pictures Governor Olson as a "Northwest Leader," as the "one man who stands out." Minnesota's governor also is the subject of a chapter entitled "Viking Invader" in *American Messiahs* by the "Unofficial Observer" (New York, 1935).

A speech of Congressman Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota before the House of Representatives on June 24, 1935, is printed under the title "Charles A. Lindbergh — Patriot, Pioneer, Statesman, Lawyer, Writer, Courageous Champion for the People" in the "Appendix" of the *Congressional Record* for July 22. The elder Lindbergh's Minnesota background, his political record, and his influence on the Farmer-Labor party are emphasized in this sketch. After Colonel Lindbergh's Atlantic flight, said Mr. Lundeen, "every book and pamphlet and piece of movable furniture disappeared" from the Lindbergh home at Little Falls, "to the great loss of future generations, especially students who would like to examine the volumes, pamphlets, and writings collected by Lindbergh during his long public service."

Faculty members and students at the Northwest School of Agriculture and Experiment Station at Crookston joined in celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of this branch of the University of Minnesota on July 15. The speakers included two former superintendents of the school, T. A. Hoverstad and C. G. Selvig, and a former state senator, A. D. Stephens. All spoke on phases of the history and development of the school and station. Their addresses are outlined in the *Crookston Daily Times* for July 15.

Mr. George H. Primmer, whose study of "Pioneer Roads Centering at Duluth" appeared in the last issue of this magazine, is the author of a brief sketch entitled "Teaching School in Minnesota — 1835" in the September number of the *Minnesota Journal of Edu-*

cation. The writer describes some of the experiences of Edmund F. Ely as a missionary and teacher at Fond du Lac a century ago, as recorded in the latter's diary. "The entire Fond du Lac settlement," writes Mr. Primmer, "turned out to see his [Ely's] ball and candle demonstration of earth attitude and motions, a performance he designated the first astronomical lecture in the region."

In a *History of Catholic Colleges for Women in the United States of America*, Sister Mary Mariella Bowler points out that in the Middle West, Minnesota "led the other states in providing full collegiate training for Catholic women" (Washington, 1933. 145 p.). Several pages are devoted to historical sketches of colleges at St. Paul, Winona, St. Joseph, and Duluth, and a number of secondary schools are noted. Mention is made of the work of Bishops Cretin and Grace in promoting Catholic education for women in Minnesota.

The history of the radio in the Northwest is reflected in a review of the progress of station KSTP by Jay Edgerton, which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 11. The early radio work of Mr. Stanley E. Hubbard, general manager of the station, is described. In 1923, when he opened the station known as WAMD, "broadcasting was done through a large horn" and "listeners used ear-phones on their home-made crystal sets."

Two celebrations in July marked the centennial of the founding of the Lac qui Parle mission, which was observed by the Minnesota Historical Society at a session of the state historical convention on June 14 (see *ante*, p. 302). A program sponsored by the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, given at the mission site on July 7, included a reminiscent talk by the Reverend Thomas L. Riggs, the son of one of the Lac qui Parle missionaries, Stephen R. Riggs, and an address on the work of the founder of the mission, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, by his grandson, the Reverend Jesse P. Williamson. On July 9, the actual centennial date, a program arranged by the Lac qui Parle Centennial Commission created by the 1934 legislature was presented. The speakers included former Congressman Einar Hoidale; Julius A. Schmahl, state treasurer; Elmer Benson, state superintendent of banks; and Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. The latter read a paper entitled "Cross and Plow: The Missionary as a Civilizer."

To mark the centennial, the *Montevideo News* issued a special "Lac qui Parle Centennial Edition," in which papers presented at the state historical convention by Dr. Charles M. Gates and the Reverend Philip Frazier are published in full. Among other items in this edition are an abstract of a paper entitled "Conserving Minnesota's Past," presented by Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the state historical society, at Montevideo on June 14; and a reprint from this magazine, *ante*, p. 192-195, of an article by Mr. Babcock entitled "Hunting History by Automobile."

Eightieth anniversaries were commemorated by the Osseo Catholic Church on July 28, the Pine City Methodist Episcopal Church on August 18, the Houston Lutheran Church on August 25 and 26, the Trinity Norwegian Lutheran Church of Spring Grove from September 6 to 8, the Vasa Lutheran Church on September 8, the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Paul on September 15, the Oak Grove Presbyterian Church of Bloomington from September 19 to 22, and the First Lutheran Church of Red Wing on September 29; a seventy-sixth anniversary, by St. Joseph's Catholic Church of Medicine Lake on September 29; seventy-fifth anniversaries, by the First Lutheran Church of Taylor's Falls on July 20 and 21, the St. Wendelin Catholic Church of Luxemburg and St. John's Lutheran Church of Shakopee on August 25, the Scotland Presbyterian Church on September 14 and 15, and the St. John the Baptist Catholic Church of Dayton on September 22; a seventy-third anniversary, by the Zion Swedish Lutheran Church of Goodhue on September 1; sixty-fifth anniversaries, by the Trinity Reformed Church of Wabasha on July 28, the East Sveadahl Swedish Lutheran Church on August 4, the Rush Lake Swedish Lutheran Church on September 8, the Cokato Lutheran Church from September 29 to October 6, and the Willmar Presbyterian Church from September 29 to October 7; sixtieth anniversaries, by St. John's Lutheran Church of New Prairie on September 8, Bethany Lutheran Church of Emmet Township on September 15, and the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Holmes City on September 21 and 22; fiftieth anniversaries, by St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chaska on July 7, the Eidskog Lutheran Church on July 7 and 8, Zion Lutheran Church of Detroit Lakes and St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Le Center on July 21, Our Saviour's Lutheran Church of Warren on July 28, St.

Mary's Catholic Church of Ellsworth on August 22, the Swedish Mission Church of Buffalo from September 8 to 15, St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Leaf Lake Township, Zion Evangelical Church of Hanover, and St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Waseca on September 15, the Tromso Lutheran Free Church of Lake Lillian from September 20 to 22, the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Walter on September 22, and the St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church of Rost Township on September 29; a forty-fifth anniversary, by the Knox Presbyterian Church of St. Paul on September 15; fortieth anniversaries, by St. John's Lutheran Church of Thief River Falls on July 28 and the First Methodist Church of Eveleth from September 6 to 8; twenty-fifth anniversaries, by the Bethsaida Lutheran Church of Clearbrook on August 3 and 4, the Marble Methodist Church on September 1, the First Congregational Church of Waubun on September 8, and St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Minneapolis on September 29.

Miss Marjorie Edgar, who contributed a brief article on "Finnish Folk Songs in Minnesota" to the September issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY, is the author of a note on "Finnish Charms from Minnesota" which appears in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* for October-December, 1934. "It was while collecting folksongs in . . . northern Minnesota that I heard some of the old charms and incantations once used in Finland to cure injuries, to invoke blessings or curses, or to charm cattle," writes Miss Edgar. "In this country the charms are remembered as folklore or told to children to amuse them. They are not as commonly known or as plentiful as the folksongs, and they are becoming more rare." Several of the charms are printed in the original Finnish with English translations by the author.

A marker designating a spot on the old trail between St. Cloud and Fort Wadsworth in Dakota Territory, near Browns Valley and the Dakota border, was dedicated by the Dr. Samuel Prescott chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on September 28. The history of the Wadsworth trail was reviewed by Mrs. Paul LeLay of St. Cloud and Miss Grace Hall of Morris; and Mrs. Carl Thayer of Minneapolis, state regent of the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution, described the activities of that organization in marking historic sites.

In 1931 there was "but one covered wooden bridge left" in Minnesota, according to Rosalie Wells, whose volume on *Covered Bridges in America* was published in that year (135 p.). The Minnesota bridge, located on the Zumbro River at Zumbrota, is the subject of a brief statement and a photograph.

Some of the men who carried mail between Pembina and Crow Wing in the fifties are described in a brief article entitled "Early Mailmen Unsung Heroes" in the *Northwest Pioneer* for October. It is made up chiefly of quotations from the reminiscences of Charles Cavileer, a Pembina pioneer.

The Minnesota mining towns of Hibbing, Virginia, and Eveleth are discussed by Paul H. Landis in an article on the "Life Cycle of the Iron Mining Town" in *Social Forces* for December, 1934. The Mesabi Range, where these communities are located, "offers an unparalleled opportunity for studying culture growth and culture change," according to Mr. Landis. "The community was developed only 40 years ago and, therefore, has passed quickly through the pioneer and exploiter periods and is already reaching the conservation and declining stage," he continues. He points out that these towns "have grown from mining locations to municipalities ranging from 8,000 to 16,000 population possessed of all the conveniences known to American cities of equal size. In this brief period of time one can observe many of the changes that make the early and middle phases of a life cycle of a type of civilization." "Social Change and Social Interaction as Factors in Culture Change" in the three Mesabi Range communities are described by the same writer in an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* for July; and he contributes a study of "Cultural Adjustments to the Mesabi Resources" to *Economic Geography* for April.

Plans are under way for the "establishment of a logging museum in Stillwater as a tribute to the pioneers of the St. Croix Valley," according to an announcement in the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* for September 17. Attention is called to the fact that similar museums are to be found at Rhinelander, Wisconsin, and in Hartwick Pines State Park in Michigan. At the latter place a typical lumberman's camp, with reproductions of a kitchen, workshop, mess hall, and other buildings, has been constructed under the direction of the National

Park Service. Buildings of this type would make an appropriate setting for the preservation of objects illustrative of the early lumber industry in Minnesota and the St. Croix Valley.

Legends of the alleged lumberjack's hero, Paul Bunyan, and stories of the lumber industry in northern Minnesota were recalled in a three-day celebration at Brainerd from July 18 to 20. A pageant depicting episodes in the mythical life of Paul Bunyan was a feature of the celebration. Many of the stories that center about his name are retold in special editions of the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for July 12 and of the *Brainerd Tribune* for July 18.

The farm home of Oliver H. Kelley, the founder of the Granger movement, has been acquired by the National Grange, which plans to preserve the house and grounds as a memorial to Kelley. Officers of the national and state Granges met at the farm on September 12 to discuss plans for its preservation. On the same day an open meeting of the Minnesota Grange was held at Elk River, with Mr. Louis J. Taber of Columbus, Ohio, master of the National Grange, Dean W. C. Coffey of the college of agriculture of the University of Minnesota, and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, as speakers.

An "Official Program" for a performance of *Minnesota's 1935 Historical Pageant* at Whitewater State Park on July 21 was published by the Winona Junior Chamber of Commerce, which sponsored the event (16 p.). It contains descriptions of the various episodes in the pageant, which dealt with the history of the Minnesota fur trade, and brief accounts of the chief characters in the cast. The pageant was presented also at Itasca and Jay Cooke state parks and at Fort Ridgely (see *ante*, p. 358).

The centennial of the Sibley House at Mendota was celebrated by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution on July 24, when the historic house was opened to visitors at a garden party and tea. Mrs. Carl T. Thayer of Minneapolis, state regent of the organization which maintains the Sibley House as a museum, spoke, briefly outlining its history. An illustrated article by Harry D. Thorn about this frontier residence and its original owner, Henry H. Sibley, appears in the *M. A. C. Gopher* for September.

Under the title "Excerpts Taken from Historic Rambles in Gopher-Land," brief sketches relating to Minnesota history by Mark Fitzpatrick have been appearing in *Town Topics*, a St. Paul publication, since June 6. The beginnings of St. Paul and Minneapolis, the founding of Fort Snelling, some early Minnesota settlements, the Northfield bank robbery, and frontier education are the subjects of some of the sketches.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A historical tour through parts of McLeod, Carver, and Hennepin counties was held on July 20 under the auspices of the Hutchinson and Glencoe historical societies. The tour was planned and directed by the presidents of the two organizations—Mr. S. S. Beach of Hutchinson and Mr. Orlando Simons of Glencoe. Among the places of historical interest visited were Komensky, long a center of Bohemian cultural life; Winsted and an old French cemetery in its vicinity, where the Reverend William Wey gave a brief talk; Excelsior on Lake Minnetonka; and Carver, where a program of papers and talks was presented. The speakers included two members of the staff of the state historical society—Miss Esther Jerabek, head of the accessions department, who read a paper on "Bohemian Pioneers of McLeod County," and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum, who spoke on "Community Memory." Reminiscent talks were presented by Mr. Frank Kasper and Miss May Hankinson, both of Glencoe.

The seventh annual North Shore Historical Assembly, a joint meeting of the Lake, Cook, and St. Louis county historical societies, was held at Beaver Bay in Lake County on August 3. The principal speaker at the afternoon session was Mrs. Florence C. Slater, who presented a paper on "High Lights in the History of Beaver Bay." The session was followed by a tour of historic sites in the vicinity, conducted by the local Boy Scouts. At the evening session papers were presented by Judge William E. Scott on "The Political Development of Lake County," by William E. Culkin on "The American North Shore of Lake Superior during the Indian, French, British, and American Regimes," and by Homer Massie on "The Early Fur Traders of the North Shore." Some interesting "historical notes" about Beaver Bay were included in the printed program of

the assembly. Judge Scott's paper is published in installments in the *Two Harbors Chronicle*, beginning with the issue of September 26.

Members of the Lake Pepin Valley and Goodhue County historical societies held a joint meeting at Frontenac on September 27. The meeting was held in commemoration of the two-hundred-and-eighth anniversary of the founding of Fort Beauharnois.

As part of a state-wide survey of historical manuscripts, inventories of records collected by local historical societies are being prepared. Lists for Rice and St. Louis counties were published *ante*, p. 241, 359. Some of the more important manuscripts preserved by the Blue Earth County Historical Society are listed below:

The constitution and by-laws of the Blue Earth County Agricultural Society, 1859, 1881, 1911; papers relating to the Blue Earth County Fair, 1861-71; a record book of old settlers, 1854-81; records kept by the Mankato Musical Society, 1873; records of the Mankato Commercial Club, 1880-1920; records kept at the Mankato post office, 1868-88; register of the Mankato House, 1859-62; diaries kept by P. K. Johnson in 1852 and Andrew Friend from 1867 to 1873 and in 1881; papers relating to the establishment of a hospital in Mankato in 1888.

The first annual summer meeting and picnic of the Anoka County Historical Society was held on the Rum River near Anoka on July 20. The speakers included Judge A. E. Giddings, Senator S. A. Stockwell, Senator C. J. Swanson, and Mrs. I. A. Caswell. Letters from several members of the society who were unable to attend the meeting appear in the *Anoka Herald* for July 24.

The exhibits of the Blue Earth County Historical Society in the pavilion of Sibley State Park recently have been "rearranged, classified and labeled carefully and accurately," according to an announcement in the *Mankato Free Press* for September 13.

Plans are under way for the erection of markers at the ends of the old Grand Portage trail, according to an announcement in the *Cook County News-Herald* of Grand Marais for August 29. An appeal for contributions to a fund with which to purchase bronze markers has been issued by the Cook County Historical Society.

A well-attended and successful session marked the summer meeting of the Crow Wing County Historical Society, which was held at Bay Lake on July 27. The speakers included Judge L. B. Kinder

of Brainerd, who related some incidents in the history of Bay Lake, and Mr. F. T. Gustafson of Pequot, who presented an account of "Indian Homes and Their Furnishings." Judge Kinder's address appears in the *Brainerd Tribune* for August 8. Notes about the activities of the local historical society and about gifts received by its museum appear from time to time in the *Tribune*. The collections of the society are described in an article in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for July 12. Special attention is given to the many objects illustrative of the lumber industry—a collection that gives the museum high rank among local history museums of the upper Mississippi Valley.

A project recently inaugurated under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Freeborn County calls for the collection and preservation of records and objects relating to the history of the county. "The people of Freeborn County should organize a County Historical Society and then keep it going so that these priceless records may be kept and the work of the project conserved," reads an article in the *Alden Advance* for August 1.

A house-to-house canvass for manuscripts relating to the history of Lyon County was made in Marshall by the Lyon County Historical Society in co-operation with the State Emergency Relief Administration and the Minnesota Historical Society early in July. Plans are under way for the preservation and cataloging of all material collected, according to an announcement in the *Marshall Daily Messenger* for July 6.

About two thousand people attended the summer meeting and picnic of the Marshall County Historical Society, held at Big Woods Landing on July 14. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the state historical society, was the principal speaker. His subject was "The Lure of Minnesota History." Drawing his illustrations from the Red River Valley, he sketched the region's role in state and national history. Papers on the history of the settlement at Big Woods Landing and on a prairie fire that once swept the district were presented by the Reverend Milton T. Bratrud of Oslo and Marvin Fjeld of Stephen. Mr. Bratrud's paper appears in the *Warren Sheaf* for July 17.

About three thousand people attended the summer meeting and picnic of the Martin County Historical Society, which was held at Dunnell on August 25. Among the speakers were Judge Julius Haycraft, who discussed the Kensington rune stone, and Mr. E. R. Flygare, who reviewed the history of Lake Fremont Township, in which Dunnell is located. Mr. Flygare's paper appears in installments in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* from August 27 to September 4, and it is published also in the form of a pamphlet (17 p.).

At the annual meeting of the Nicollet County Historical Society, held at Traverse des Sioux State Park on July 23, the services of the following four deceased members of the society were commemorated: Judge Henry Moll, by the Reverend F. W. Hauser; James H. Doty, by George R. Martin; William Mallgren, by George T. Olsen; and Edward A. Johnson, by Frank Borgen. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Henry N. Benson, president; Mrs. Magnus Peterson, vice president; Eugene Meyer, secretary-treasurer; Dr. Conrad Peterson, historian; and Birger J. Johnson, recorder. Members of the society endorsed a "movement recently suggested to secure the erection of housing for county historical records and relics in connection with an addition to the St. Peter public library."

At a meeting of the Nobles County Historical Society, held at Worthington on August 18, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Charles Barnes of Ellsworth, president; A. L. Wells of Brewster, vice president; Mrs. James A. Gardner of Kinbrae, secretary; and Robert Shore, treasurer. The meeting, which was addressed by the Honorable Henry N. Benson of St. Peter, was attended by about three hundred people.

Pelican Bay Park on Otter Tail Lake was dedicated at the summer meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which was held in the new park on July 14. Between two and three thousand people heard the address of dedication by Mr. N. P. R. Nelson. Other speakers were Miss Alta Kimber and Mr. O. P. B. Jacobson. Recent gifts to the society are announced under the heading "Historical Society Notes" in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for July 25.

The register of a summer and sportsman's resort formerly conducted on Ten Mile Lake by Colonel O. McFarland has been presented to the Otter Tail County Historical Society by Mr. H. E. Swenson, according to an announcement in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for September 13. Some information about the resort and its owner appears with the announcement.

At a meeting of the Roseau County Historical Society on June 28, the following officers were elected: Eddy E. Billberg, president; J. W. Durham, vice president; Olaf Holdahl, secretary; and J. Snustad, treasurer.

The first of a series of articles about the Winona County Historical Society, by its president, William Codman, appears in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for July 13. The first installment deals with the "origin and purpose" of the society; several of the later articles relate to local history.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The first settlers on Linwood Lake in Anoka County are the subject of an article by C. W. Ringer in the *Anoka Union* for July 24. He relates that members of the Stuart and Green families from Massachusetts settled on the shores of the lake in the fifties and that around their homes a little community of New Englanders grew up.

Some information about an old mill at Champlin is set forth in an article in the *Anoka Herald* for July 17. The first mill in the vicinity was built by A. P. and D. H. Lane in 1867. Flour produced by a roller mill built on the site in 1890 "won first place in the Chicago World Exposition" of 1893.

Early trails to and from Bemidji, as recalled by Mr. W. G. Schroeder, are described in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* for July 16. "It was fifty-five miles from Bemidji to Park Rapids, over the old trail, and it took two days each way to travel it by team," according to Mr. Schroeder. At Lake George, he relates, "there were two stopping places that did a brisk business." An interview with Mr. Harris Richardson, one of the original owners of the present site of Bemidji, appears in the *Pioneer* for August 10.

The first Catholic cemetery in Mankato, which was used from 1857 to 1882, is the subject of a brief article in the *Mankato Free Press* for October 1. The land recently was deeded to the city to become a part of its park system.

Mr. Fred W. Johnson is the author of a number of interesting historical articles that have been appearing in the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm. A detailed history of the Sioux reservation in the Minnesota Valley, the Indian agencies in the region, and old Fort Ridgely appears in installments from June 14 to August 9. This is followed by accounts of the establishment of Brown County, the changes in its boundaries, its division into townships, the construction of buildings owned by the county, and its early judicial history, which appear in the issues of the *Journal* from August 16 to September 27. The articles are based upon thorough research and constitute an important contribution to the history of the Minnesota Valley. Of interest also is a "Historical Sketch of Engine Company No. 3," New Ulm Fire Department, by Alfred Schroeck, which appears in the issue for September 6; and a review of the "Early History of Cambria," by D. C. Price, published on September 13.

A paper entitled "The Westgoths and Minnesota," read by Alfred Bergin at East Union on July 21, appears in the *Weekly Valley Herald* of Chaska for July 25. It deals with Swedish pioneers who settled in Carver County in the fifties. In the same issue of the *Herald* a school paper issued at Chaska in November, 1880, is described. In this paper, known as the *School Reporter*, were published "brief compositions, scholastic standings, and bits of educational information."

Some "Forgotten Townsites" of Clearwater County, most of which were surveyed and recorded between 1900 and 1924, are described in the *Farmers Independent* of Bagley for August 29. Among the townsites noted are Mallard, Alida, Regina, Moose, Wheelock, Itasca, Murray, and St. Jefferson. Of these, one, Mallard, was at one time a thriving logging village.

A pageant depicting the history of Dakota County in eleven episodes was the feature of the seventieth Dakota County fair, held at Farmington from September 18 to 21.

The centennial of the visit to the present site of Albert Lea of the soldier for whom the city is named, Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea, was marked by the presentation of a pageant in which the history of the community was reviewed on July 30. The camp, on Albert Lea Lake, of the United States dragoons with whom Lea marched through southern Minnesota; the frontier cabin of George Ruble, one of the founders of the city; the naming of the community; the location of the county seat; and a frontier school were among the scenes depicted in the pageant. The Albert Lea chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution commemorated the centennial on September 9, when Mrs. H. J. Petran presented a talk on Lea and recalled his visit to the city in 1879. A series of articles on the life of Lea appears in the *Evening Tribune* of Albert Lea from July 18 to 30.

A brief history of labor unions in Red Wing appears in the *Red Wing Daily Eagle* for August 19. According to this account, the "oldest labor union in point of consecutive years of service in this city" is the Red Wing Stoneware and Potters Union, which was organized in 1895.

A tribute to Peter M. Gideon, who developed the Wealthy apple on his Lake Minnetonka farm in the sixties, appears in the *Minnetonka Record* for September 20. Other varieties of hardy apples developed by Gideon in experiments continued until his death in 1899 also are noted. An excellent portrait accompanies the article.

An interview with Mr. Theodore Wirth, superintendent of Minneapolis parks since January, 1906, appears in the *M. A. C. Gopher* for August. "Nature has done much for Minneapolis," said Mr. Wirth, "but its Board of Park Commissioners, created in 1883, has also done much to make Minneapolis a city of lovely environment." How swampy lakes "surrounded by mosquito-breeding swamps and marsh lands" were transformed to make the parks and lakes of the city's present residence sections is explained by Mr. Wirth. His career also is outlined in *Parks and Recreation* for July.

A brief "History of LaPorte" by Nettie Underhill, who read the account before a recent meeting of the Hubbard County Old Settlers Association, appears in the *Bemidji Sentinel* for July 12.

The issue of the *Kittson County Enterprise* of Hallock for September 11 is a "Fiftieth Anniversary Number," with a supplement of sixty-two pages devoted to articles about the history of the county and the community. The writer of an editorial in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 18 comments upon the issue as follows:

In 1873 Charles Hallock of New York, already of high repute as a writer, founded the publication *Forest and Stream* and concentrated his activities on outdoor topics. In his own and other publications his articles in the latter part of the 1870 decade frequently paid tribute to the notable fighting qualities of the "bronze warrior," the bass. In 1880 he came to Minnesota looking for a sportsman's paradise and purchased a Kittson county tract without knowing that it was included in a townsite not yet improved. The hotel he built immediately became popular with his readers, who came long distances to have a go at the game fish he had publicized. Their patronage was so considerable that his service was recognized by naming the town for him. The semi-centennial anniversary edition of the *Kittson County Enterprise*, published at Hallock, gives appropriate credit for Hallock's part in getting the town under way.

The articles in the *Enterprise* about the beginnings of Hallock and the man for whom it is named include quotations from his writings describing Minnesota scenes and experiences, and they are accompanied by his portrait and a picture of a hunting party at the Hallock Hotel. In addition to articles about the town, this anniversary number, which is described in the *Dispatch* as "one of the most impressive and interesting newspaper special editions ever issued from a Minnesota source," includes a wealth of material about the history of Kittson County. The geology of the region, Indian mounds and their builders, exploration, the fur trade, the establishment of the county, steamboating on the Red River, and the building of railroads are among the subjects covered in special articles. Phases of Canadian border history are touched upon in articles devoted to Lord Selkirk and his Red River colony, the Riel rebellions, and the Red River cart trade. Historical sketches of Kittson County towns and villages are included. Churches and schools are given some attention, and an article is devoted to the history of the Kittson County fair. Since no history of Kittson County has been published in book form, students of Red River Valley history will find this issue of the *Enterprise* of special value.

The completion of a quarter of a century of conservation work is commemorated in a pamphlet entitled *The First Twenty-five Years*

of the *Gopher Campfire Club, Hutchinson, Minnesota*, recently issued by a publication committee of the organization (47 p.). A brief sketch of the activities of the club in the preservation of wild life since its founding in 1910 is contributed by Everett Oleson; and sketches of two of its prominent members, Carlos Avery and Sam G. Anderson, are included in the pamphlet.

A hurdle race arranged by English settlers from Fairmont at the state fair of 1878 is recalled by Mr. H. M. Serle of Fairmont in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* of September 10. Mr. Serle, a member of an English colony that settled in Martin County in the seventies, relates that "the Englishmen made a circuit of fairs in this part of the state taking 18 to 20 hounds with them every year. Covered in the itinerary were Austin, Albert Lea, Blue Earth and other places."

The experiences of a pioneer farmer in southern Minnesota are recalled by Mr. George Smith of Rose Creek Township, Mower County, in an article in the *Austin Daily Herald* for August 31. He includes some interesting comments about the introduction of farm machinery in the region. Among the articles dealing with local history that have appeared in recent issues of the "magazine section" of the *Herald* are an account of the Welsh community known as the Oakland-Moscow settlement and of the services of its first pastor, the Reverend S. G. Lowry, in the issue for July 13; an early road between Wasioja and Claremont, known as "Claremont Avenue," July 6; Austin in 1860, as pictured in a local newspaper, the *Minnesota Courier*, August 3; and some early county fairs, August 10.

A threshing machine owned and operated by J. J. Mihin in Murray County in the sixties is described in the *Lake Wilson Pilot* for August 22. "He threshed in the days with his horse power outfit when 500 bushels was a good day's run," according to his account. In this period threshers "generally received 5 cents for wheat and 10 cents for flax."

The town of Ada in Norman County as it appeared in 1880 is shown in a print which is reproduced in the *Norman County Index* of Ada for August 22. It is accompanied by an interesting article about the community with notes about the buildings shown in the picture by the owner of the original, Mr. George Weatherhead.

Installments of Roy A. Baker's "History of Fergus Falls" continue to appear in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* (see *ante*, p. 369). The results of village elections, the building of railroads, the establishment of business houses, and the local land office are among the subjects touched upon in recent installments.

A fiftieth anniversary was celebrated on June 27 by the village of Underwood. Judge Anton Thompson, who gave the principal address, outlined the history of the community and recalled pioneer days.

The activities of the Great Western Band, organized at St. Paul by George Seibert in 1860, are recalled in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 25. Other musical organizations in which Seibert was active, such as the St. Paul Musical Society, also are noted. After his death, in 1897, his son and later his nephew, Mr. Fred Albrecht, directed the band.

The history of the *Sanborn Sentinel* is reviewed in the issue of that paper for August 8. The paper was established by C. K. Blandin in 1892. Most of the information set forth in the sketch was furnished by Mr. A. D. McRae of Redwood Falls, who published the paper during much of the period from 1896 to 1912.

The centennial of the building of a trading post by Alexander Faribault on the site of the city that bears his name was the occasion for a city-wide celebration at Faribault on September 25. Historical displays were arranged in the windows of business concerns and several local organizations arranged programs centering around local history. Members of the Rotary Club, for example, heard a talk on "The Beginning of Commerce in Rice County" by Mr. Herbert L. Buck, who also spoke to the students of Bethlehem Academy on the "Experiences of Alexander Faribault in Establishing a Trading Post in Faribault."

A "Publisher's Twenty-fifth Anniversary Supplement," issued with the *Northfield News* for July 19, commemorates the passing of a quarter-century since Mr. Herman Roe became the owner of the paper. A review of his career, in which his experiences as a publisher in Northfield and as an officer of the state and national editorial associations are emphasized, is contributed by Carl L. Weicht, editor of the *News*. Other articles of special interest in the "Supplement"

are an account of the early history of Northfield, in which some attention is given to "cultural ideals," and an outline of the city's newspaper history.

The history of a section of Minnesota's Canadian boundary country is the subject of a narrative by "Jake" Nelson which has been appearing in installments under the title "40 Years in Roseau Valley" in the *Roseau Times-Region* since June 6. The geography of the region under consideration, its Indian inhabitants, exploration, and early settlement are considered in the first few installments. Personal recollections of early conditions and experiences in this section of Minnesota are recorded in many of the articles. In the issue for July 25, for example, an account of a July 4 celebration of 1886 is presented.

A typical fur-trading post constructed in commemoration of the American Fur Company's post at Fond du Lac was dedicated before an audience of about twelve thousand people on August 4. Governor Olson and Dr. Raymond Moley of New York were the speakers. A collection of objects illustrative of the early history of the Fond du Lac post was placed on display. The dedication ceremonies were followed by a performance of the historical pageant given earlier at Itasca State Park (see *ante*, p. 358). A tablet on the post bears the following inscription: "Dedicated Aug. 4, 1935 to John Jacob Astor, Founder Astor Trading Post, Fond-du-lac, 1816."

A history of Little Sauk Township, appearing in the *Long Prairie Leader* in installments from July 11 to September 26, continues O. B. DeLaurier's series of Todd County township histories in that paper (see *ante*, p. 372).

An article on "Fort Beauharnois and the Mission of St. Michael" by the Reverend James L. Connelly of St. Paul, who presented it as a radio talk in November, 1934, appears in two installments in the *Wabasha County Leader* of Lake City for August 29 and September 5.

An interview with Mr. Otto Wenstrom, a Watonwan County pioneer of 1870, recorded by his daughter, Miss Ruth Wenstrom, appears in the *Watonwan County Plaindealer* of St. James for September 12. Mr. Wenstrom recalls the furnishings in his father's

cabin, he tells how the home was heated and what kind of fuel was used, he describes the crude tallow dips and homemade candles used for lighting, and he tells of the simple food eaten by the pioneers. Recollections of a blizzard and a grasshopper plague of the early seventies also are included.

Arguments against the building of a bridge across the Mississippi at Winona, advanced in La Crosse newspapers of 1867, are quoted in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for September 9. At that time bridges were regarded as obstacles to river traffic.

The political campaigns of 1890 and 1896 in Wright County are recalled in articles in the *Wright County Journal-Press* of Buffalo for August 1 and 15. The earlier account deals with a contest for a seat in the state senate; the latter, with a Congressional campaign that centered about the cause of Free Silver. Both are based upon material furnished by Mr. F. B. Lamson, who is engaged in the preparation of a history of Wright County.

The "History of School District Number Forty-five" at Howard Lake is reviewed by Allen Reinmuth in the *Howard Lake Herald* for July 25. Lists of teachers who have served the school since 1858, of the textbooks used in the school from 1879 to 1894, and of the pupils enrolled in 1869 are included in the account, which is based upon interviews with pioneers.



